A Parliament, and a memorable PARLIAMENT.

THis present occasion so opportunitie befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and slipped out of memory long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in *England* in former times: Nor will it be any wayes burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and carefull Reader may learne so avoid diversities of miseries, and the danger and feare of cruell death: I will therefore speake of that which hath laine hid in the darksome shade of forgetfullnesse, concerning men who have been led away by the deceitfull path of Covetousnesse, and have come to a most shamefull and ignominious death: a famous example to deterre all men from practising those or the like matter.

ABout the yeare of Christ 1386. at such time as *Richard* the second of that name, then in prime of his youth, swayed the Imperiall Scepter of our Realme, there flourished famous in his Court certaine Peeres, though some of them not of any honourable descent, yet favoured by fortunes, by name, *Alexander Neve*, Archbishop of Yorke, *Robert Vere*, D. of Ireland, *Michael de la Poole*, Earle of Suffolke, then Lord Chancellour; *Robert Tresilian*, Lord chiefe Justice of England; and *Nicholas Brambre*, sometimes Major of London.

These men being raised from meane estates, by the speciall favour of the King, and advanced to the degree of privie Counsellours, were the men who had the only rule of the Common-wealth, which they, under the King, governed for some small space, with carefull diligence, inheriting thereby deserved commendations. But not long did they thus steere the Ship of the Kingdome: for many of them being of inferiour ranke by birth, not having their veines dignified with the streames of noble blood, they were the sooner enticed with the bibulous baits of voluptuousnesse, and infected with inflamable itch of avarice: insomuch, that despising the authority of the King, and neglecting the commodity of the Realme, but onely desiring to keep up the Revenues of the Kingdome, to wrought, that by their pollicie the King is impoverished, the Treasury exhausted, the Commons inforced to the multiplicity of Tenths, Levies, and Subsidies, the Peeres to pine, to inrich themselves

disgraced, and their inferiours honored; and in a word, the whole Kingdome endures an universall misery.

The Nobility seeing the miserable estate wherein the Kingdome lay, bleeding as it were to death, urged their King to summon a Parliament; which was done shortly after. In which amongst many other Acts, the afore-named *Michael de la Poole* is dismist of his Chancellorship; and being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as Bribery, Extortion, and the like, he was soon cast into the Castle of Windsor, and all his lands, which were of no small Revenue, were confiscated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole State; by the mutuall consent of the King and Prelates, Barons and Commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute and give plenary and absolute power to certaine Commissioners, as well of the Spiritualty as Temporalty, for the ordering and disposing of the publique affaires, according as shall seem best and most necessary for the desperate estate of the Common-wealth, to depresse civill dissentions, and to pacifie and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the Spiritualty were chosen the Archbishop of Canterbury, the afore-named Bishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, lately made Chancelor of England, the Bishop of Winchester; Bishop of Hereford, Lord Treasurer; Bishop of Exeter, Abbot of Waltham, and the Lord *John* of Waltham.

Of the Laity were elected the Duke of York, the Earle of Arundel, the Lord *Goltham*, the Lord *Scroop*, and *John Devoureux* Knight: these as men eminent in vertue, were chosen by the generall Suffrage, and sworn to carry themselves as dutifull and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, That if any should refuse or disobey the Ordinances so made for publick good, the punishment of his first offence, should be the cōfiscation of his goods; and for the second, the losse of life. Thus disposing of all things for the best, the Parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his owne house.

Soon after, the afore-named Chancelor, with others of their confederates, being moved with implacable fury against the Statute of the late Parliament, they buzzed into the Kings eares, that the Statutes lately enacted, were very prejudiciall to the honour of his Crowne, and much derogatory to his Princely Prerogative: insomuch that he should not have power, without the consent of the new-appointed Commissioners, to doe any thing befitting a King; no, not so much as to bestow a largesse, a principall meanes to gain the peoples love, upon any, though never so well deserving.

By these and other the like impious instigations, with which the Divel (as never unmindful of the end of those, who by their lives do prove themselves) did continually supply them, they practised to annihilate and disanull these

Acts

Acts of the Parliament, which seemed any way to their advantage to embrace their usurped authority.

And first, by their serpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flattery painted out with gloring discourses, and covered over with the shadow of vigilancie for the good of the Kingdome, they so bewitched the noble inclination of the youthfull King, whom they induced to believe, that all the ill they did, was a generall good, that he began to distaste, and at last to abhorre the late passed Acts, as treacherous plots, and most wicked devices.

Next, they studied how to ingrosse all, or the most part of the wealth and riches of the Kingdome into their own coffers; and to the same end, dealt so cunningly, yet pleasingly with the King, that hee gave to the D. of Ireland, *John* of *Bloys*, the heir of the Ducchy of Britaine, and his ransome; to others, Townes; to others, Cities; to others, Lands; to others, Money, amounting to the summe of 100000 Markes, to the great impoverishment both of King and Kingdome: neither did these King-eaters and Realm-devourers any thing regard it, but setting unskilfull and insufficient Captaines and Governours over Townes and Forts so obtained, gave occasion to the enemies of the Crowne to surprise them, and dispossesse the King of them.

Thirdly, vilifying the dignity of the King, contrary to their allegeance, they drew the King to sweare, that with all his power, during his life, hee should maintain and defend them from all their enemies, whether forraigne or domestick.

Fourthly, whereas it was enacted by the last Parliament, that the King at certain seasonable times, and when his leasure would permit him, should sit at Westminster with his Councell there, to consult of the publique affaires; through the perswasions of the aforelaid Conspirators, hee was drawne into the most remotest parts of the Realme, to the great disparagement of the fidelity of those honorable, grave, and faithfull Peeres, late made joynt Commissioners, in whose hands the whole safety and prosperity of the Commonwealth did recide.

And when as the Lord Chancelour, the Lord Treasurer, Keeper of the Privie Seale, or any other of the Privie Councell, came to relate any of their owne actions, or the state of the Realme, they could not bee granted free accesse, unlesse they related the businesse in the presence and hearing of the conspirators, who were alwayes ready to upbraid them if they uttered any thing that displeased them, and to command them for any thing (though most nefarious) that did content them: for thus could they the sooner learne and dive into the acts of the Commissioners, and the better find occasions for their accusations: Furthermore, when as the King in company of the Conspirators went in progresse towards the parts of Cheshire, Wales, and Lancashire, they made proclamation in the Kings name, throughout the Shires as

they journied, That all Barons, Knights, Esquires, with the greatest part of the Communalty able to beare armes, should speedily repaire to the King for his defence against the power of the Commissioners, chiefly of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earle of Arundel; because they above the rest, did with their chiefest endevours, study to suppresse & quell the devices of the conspirators.

Fifthly, contrary to the aforesaid Acts they caused the D. of Ireland to bee created chiefe Justice of Chester, thereby selling justice as they listed, condemning the guiltlesse, and remitting the guilty, never respecting or looking unto the equall ballance of justice, but poizing downe the scales with heaps of Bribery.

Sixthly, by the procurement of the confederates, they caused certain honest persons, who would not consent to their extortions, to be called and summoned to their Court, and there to answer to certaine false accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjuring hirelings, of which men so accused, some were put to death, some cast into prison, all were vexed and troubled with delayes, length of their journey to and fro, and excessive charges; neither were they eased of any these burthens, unlesse they would part with round summes of money to the D. and his Complices.

Seventhly, they gave pardons under the Brod Seal, to Felons, Murderers, and such like, only with this condition, that they should murther any whomsoever they thought did mislike their exaction.

Eighthly, they taught the countrey of Ireland to look to its pristine estate, I mean, of having a King; for they plotted how to have the Duke created King of Ireland: And for the confirmation of which their designe, they allured the King to send his letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, the aforesaid *Nicholas Brambre*, in the time of his Majoralty, caused two and twenty to be falsly accused of Felonies, and laid into Newgate, under pretext and colour of divers crimes, and in the silent and dead time of the night to be fast bound, and by a strong hand to be carried into Kent, to a place commonly called *Fawlocks*, and then to have their heads struck off, except one who being favoured by the murtherers, safely escaped; the blood of the rest died the streames of a small Rivolet adjoyning.

Tenthly, soon after, to adde one mischief to another, they sent letters under the Kings Signet, to the Major of London, by *John Rippon* Clerke, with a certain libell, or schedule inclosed in the said letters, the tenor of which is as followeth.

That the afore-named three Commissioners, viz. the Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of Arundel and Warwick, and other of the Councell, were to bee arrested, indicted, condemned, and put to a lamentable death, as being such as had conspired against the King, against his prerogative, & against his Crown and Imperiall dignity; and to this they did in a manner constrain the King to

assent

assent unto. Upon receit of these letters, the Major and Aldermen of the Citie of London, called a Common Councell, wherein they consulted what course were best to be taken in this matter, and after long debate, *pro & con*, it was on all sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruell and unheard of Tragicall Complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth, one wicked act drawes on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight crackes the supporter.

Therefore the said Conspirators being blinded with rashnesse, principally sent letters by *John Godfrey* Knight, to the King of France, the Kings adversary, to conclude a five yeares truce, should come over to Callis, and from thence should send for the Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of Arundell and Warwick, and for some other of the Commissioners, as though the King were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice; and being thus circumvented, should be condemned as traytors, and so put to an ignominious and cruell death.

And for doing and performing of these things, the King of France was to recover all the Castles, Townes, and Lands lying in these countries, and belonging to the King of England. To prove these things to be true, there were certaine writings produced by the Commissioners, wherein were contained letters from the King of France to the King of England, and from the conspirators in the King of Englands name, to the King of France.

Moreover, there were other letters intercepted, directed to the said King of France, the substance whereof was, to incite the King of France to leave a puissant power into England, against the Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of Arundel and Warwicke, and the rest of the Commissioners, and all those that did either countenance or favour the said Statute and Commissioners.

Now here concluding their divelish conspiracie, the five aforesaid conspirators departed from Westminster to the Castle of Nottingham, and sent a Writ for *Robert Beale*, Lord chiefe Justice of the Common-Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp* & *Will. Burleigh*, Judges of the said Court, and for *John Lotton*, the Kings Serjeant at Law; who being come into the Councell-chamber, not knowing what they were sent for, the aforesaid conspirators caused the gates and doores of the Castle to be shut, and then propounded these questions following unto them.

First, whether those Statutes, Ordinances, and Commission, made in the late Parliament at Westminster, were derogatory to the Kings dignity and Kingly Prerogative; and, because they were to be punished who did procure those Constitutions, and did incite and move the King to consent unto them, and did as much as in them lay, to hinder the King from exercising his Royall Prerogative.

To these and other the like questions, with a joynt consent they answered,

That they were to ſuffer death as traytors, or elſe to endure ſome capitall puniſhment: in witneſſe of which aſſertion, being terrified with the feare of preſent death, the aforeſaid Judges, together with *Iohn Carey*, Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, they ſigned and ſealed a certaine writing, in manner of a Proteſtation, in preſence of theſe witneſſes, *Alex. Nevil*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Archbiſhop *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Iohn Rippon* Clerke, and *Iohn Blaky* Fruiterer, dated the 19 of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1387. in the 11. yeare of the reigne of K. *Richard* 2. Then were they compelled to ſweare, that they ſhould keep the paſſages undiſcovered, upon pain of death; and ſo they had licence to depart.

And that which is worſe, they cauſed the King to ſweare, That in his proper perſon, with his whole power, he ſhould take revenge of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, of the two Earles and their adherents, by cauſing them to bee put to death.

But God inſpired into the hearts of the aforeſaid Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwicke*, the ſpirit of valour and magnanimity, who ſeeing the heap of ills that daily did ariſe by the practices of thoſe coſpirators, they ſet almoſt in every part of the Kingdome, intelligencers, who ſhould apprehend all Meſſengers, and intercept all letters of the Kings, or that went under the Kings name, and ſhould ſend them to the Commiſſioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole plot of the conſpirators; all their Letters being indorced, with *Glory bee to God on high, on earth peace, and good will towards men*: and by comming to the knowledge of each circumſtance, they found, that the Kingdome was at the point of deſtruction; according to that Evangelicall ſaying, *Every Kingdome divided againſt it ſelfe, ſhall be diſſolved*: Wherefore they ſought for a remedy; every man according to his ability, levied a power for the preſervation of the King and Kingdome: all which forces being united, amounting to the number of 20000. fighting men, and courageouſly reſolving to fruſtrate all the intended deſignes of the conſpirators, and to open the nut by cracking the ſhell, they divided their Army, committing part of it to the Earle of *Arundel*: who by night marched away with his Forces, and pitched his tents neer to *London*, there fortifying himſelf in the Forreſt adjoyning, till ſuch time as he had gained more convenient time, and greater force, by the comming of his conſorts. On the other ſide, the conſpirators intending to prevent their purpoſes, by power of a certaine Spirituall Commiſſion, and by vertue of certaine Letters Patents in the hands of the Conſpirators, though nothing to the purpoſe; yet to blind the people, they cauſed to be proclaimed throughout the whole Citie of *London*, that none upon paine of the forfeiture of all their goods, ſhould neither ſell, give, or communicate privatly or publickly, victual, armour, or aby other neceſſaries to the Army of the Earle of *Arundel*, but

ſhould

ſhould barre them of ſuſtentation, comfort, or help, as Rebels to the King and countrey. But on the other ſide, they began to feare, when they were denied their hoped-for aid by the Major and Communalty of the Citie of *London*. And againe, they were troubled at the riſing of the Commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counſelled the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, (which was to begin at *Candlemas* next, according as the King and Commiſſioners had appointed it) and not conſult of the affaires of the Kingdome, nor of his owne Eſtate, commodity or diſcommodity, unleſſe the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the two Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwicke*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, would ſweare, That neither they, nor any in their name, ſhould accuſe them, or urge any accuſation againſt them.

Not long after it happened, that the King, with the aforeſaid five Conſpirators, came from his Mannor at *Sheene*, to *Weſtminſter*, to Saint *Edmonds* Tombe, for the ſolemnizing of a Pilgrimage. The Major and Aldermen of the Citie of *London* met him on horſeback ſumptuouſly attired, honoring him very much.

And when they came to the *Mewes*, they deſcended from their horſes, and went bare-foot to the Tombe of S. *Edmond*; where as the Chaplaine of the Commiſſioners, with the Abbot and Covent, met them with a ſtately Proceſſion.

In the mean time, the three Noble-men, *viz.* the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwicke* having muſtered their Troopes on the fourteenth of *November*, in the ſame yeare, at *Waltham Croſſe*, in the County of *Hertford*, and from thence ſent for the Commiſſioners that were there at *Weſtminſter* in Parliament with the King, ſending an accuſation in writing to the King, againſt the aforeſaid Conſpirators, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Triſilian*, and *Nicholas Brambre*; wherein they accuſed them of high treaſon: which their appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to proſecute the ſame; and to prove it to be true, they cauſed alſo the reſt of the Commiſſioners to ſubſcribe, as parties to their appellation.

When theſe things came to the eares of the King, he ſent unto them, requiring to know what their requeſt was, and what they wiſhed to have been done: They returned anſwer thus: That they did deſire, that the Traytors which were alwayes about him, filling his eares with falſe reports, and did daily commit inſufferable crimes and injuries, might be rewarded with condigne puniſhment. And likewiſe craved, that they might have ſafe liberty of going and comming to his grace.

When the King heard their requeſt, he gave them his Royall conſent, and commanded them to appeare at *Weſtminſter*; and the King ſitting on his

Throne

Throne in the great Hall, the three aforesaid Peeres Appellants with a great troop of Gentlemen, entred, & making three lowly obeysances, on their bended knees, they reverenced the King: and drawing neere (the cause of their comming being alledged) they there againe appealed the Archbishop, Duke of Ireland, Earle Treasurer, and *Brambre* of high treason, according as they had done before at Waltham Crosse; but they betaking themselves to the private corners of the Palace, even as *Adam* and *Eve* from the presence of God, not having the heart to appeare, to justifie themselves.

The King called forth the Appellants, to prove and prosecute the Appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the triall, which was to be on the day after *Candlemas* day; and in the mean time, the King commanded them upon their Honours, not any party to molest the other untill the next Parliament.

The Duke of *Ireland*, under the guide of his grand Captaine the Divell, marching into Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, raised a new power, amounting to the number of 6000 fighting men; from thence marched towards London with his Army, with a furious intent and resolution to performe his bloody designe. And whilst these plots were laid, the Appellants being suddenly advertised thereof, raised a great power, and joyning with them the Earle of Derby, and the Earle of Nottingham, and other Commissioners, marched with long and wearied marches into a field neere a village called *Whitney*, at a place called *Lackford Bridge*: In which field the Duke of *Ireland* was with his Army, having a river on the one side of them, whereas they stood ready prepared to give an overthrow to the Appellants, and displaying the Kings Standard, contrary to the Lawes of the land. When they saw the Army of the Appellants march down from the mountaines, like a Hive of Bees, and with such a violent fury, fear benummed them, and they were so amazed, that when they should give the assault (God not suffering the effusion of blood) they stood like a Hive of Bees, or a flocke of Cattell without a head, without any stroke given, they flung down their Armes, and yeelded themselves to the mercy of the Appellants; and a few being slaine, and some drowned in the river, gave an easie victory to the Conquerours.

When the newes of the victory was blowne to the eares of the rest of the conspirators, who were then stricken with feare; and carefull for their preservation, under covert of the night, they fled by water to the Tower, drawing the King along with them.

On the other side *Nicholas Brambre* with a bold and resolute courage, in the Kings name, caused all the gates of the Citie to be shut against the Apellants, and to be guarded with an able and sufficient Watch: But these worthy and dauntlesse members of the Common-wealth, marched towards *London* to confer with the King; but when they heard that the said *Nicholas*

Brambre

Bramber had caused the gates of the Citie to be shut against them, and to be strongly guarded, and that the whole Citie did purpose to keep them out, they stayed their resolution.

On the 27 day of *September*, they encamped themselves in *Clarkenwell*, within the liberties of the Citie of *London*. And when as the Major, with the Citizens, came unto them with pleasing words, promising unto them all that the Citie could afford with reason and equity; the Duke of *Glocester* said, Now I know, that liers speak nothing but lies, neither can any man hinder them from the relating: whereupon by a joynt consent in the evening, they removed their tents, and pitched them before divers gates of the Citie.

On the morrow there happened an enterview between the King and the Appellants, so far, that they opened their minds one to the other: but because the King loathed to speak with them, with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldnes, & some quarrell which was like to arise, and on the other side, refusing to go out of the *Tower* to speak with them, and the Appellants fearing some violence or wrong to be offered to them, would not speak with the king without a strong guard of valiant warriors. Therefore the most wise of the Appellants, after divers disputations had, resolved to go and confer with the King: but first they sent a strong Troop well armed, to search all the Corners & Caves of the *Tower*; and relation being made of the safety of the place, with a selected band of valiant Cavaliers, they entred the *Tower*, and seizing the gates, & placing a guard, appeared before the King; and there the third time appealed the aforesaid conspirators in the same sort and forme as before: which appellation being ended, the King swore, That he would adhere to their counsell as a good King, and a just Judge, so farre as the rule of Law, Reason, and Equity did require.

Then it was published and made knowne in the presence of the King, and throughout the Dominions, that on the morrow after *Candlemas* day, the aforesaid conspirators should personally appeare, to answere to the appellation, whereby they were charged of so many treasons.

They expulsed divers of the Officers of the Houshold; *viz.* in the place of *John Beaucham*, Steward of the Houshold, they appointed *John Devereux*, Knight, one of the Commissioners; *Peter Courtney*, Knight, was made Chamberlaine in stead of *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*. And the forelaid *John de Beauchamp*, *Simon de Burleigh*, Vice Chamberlaine, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Tryvet*, *James Berners*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights; and Officers of the Clergy, (*viz.*) *Richard Mayford* Secretary, *John Blake* Deane of the Chappell, *John Lincolne* Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *John Clifford* Clerke of the Chappell, were kept under arrest too, and were as partakers in the aforesaid Treason, for that they knowing and having intelligence of the said Conspiracy, they did not discover them.

And thus this hideous brood of Monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrowne.

And on the Vigill of the Purification of Saint *Mary*, in the Privy Chamber at Westminster, by joynt consent of all the Commissioners, the aforesaid *Iohn* *Iohn Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *Iohn Lollon*, and *Iohn Carey* were displaced from their Offices, and without any further adoe arrested of Treason, and by the command of the Chancelor were clapt into the Tower; and *Roger Carleton* in the place of *Belknap*, *Walter Clapton* in the place of *Tressilian*, were constituted.

The great Parliament began the second of February following, in this manner: All the Peeres, as well of the Spiritualty as of the Temporalty, being assembled in the great Hall at Westminster, the King soone after came and sate downe in his Throne; and after him appeared the five Noblemen Appellants, (the fame of whose admired worth ecchoed through all the Land) entred the House in their costly robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable company following them; and beholding where the King sate, all at once, with submissive gestures they reverenced the King. *Brambre* was taken a little before, and cast into the Gaole of Glouncester.

The Clergy then placing themselves on the right hand, and the Nobility on the left hand of the King, according to the ancient custome of the High Court of Parliament; the Lord Chancelor standing with his back toward the King, by the Kings command declared the cause of their summons to the Parliament: which being ended, the five aforesaid Appellants arising, declared their aforesaid Appellation by the mouth of *Robert Pleasington* their Speaker, who thus spake: Behold, the Duke of Glouncester comes to purge himselfe of treasons which are laid to his charge by the conspirators. To whom the Lord Chancelor, by the command of the King answered: My Lord Duke, the King conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to beleeve, that you, who are of affinity to him in a collaterall line, should attempt any treason against his sacred Majesty. The Duke with his foure Companions, upon their knees humbly gave thankes to the King for his gracious opinion of their fidelity.

Then after silence proclaimed, they arose, and delivered in certain Articles in writing, wherein were contained the particularity of the Treason.

When the Articles were read, the Appellants requested the King, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the Conspirators, and they to receive the guerdon of their deserts; which the King promised to grant.

And when the third day came of their proceedings against the Conspirators, the Lord Chancelor in the name of the Clergy, in open Parliament made an Oration, shewing that they could not by any meanes be present at the proceeding, whereas there is any censure of death to be passed. For

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the confirmation whereof, they delivered in a Proteſtation, which being read, they ſpake, That neither in reſpect of any favour, nor for feare of any mans hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did deſire to abſent themſelves; but onely that they were bound by the Canon not to bee preſent at any mans arraignment or condemnation. They likewiſe ſent their Proteſtation to the Chappell of the Abbey, where the Commons ſate; which was allowed of. And then, when the Appellants called for juſtice againſt the Conſpirators, the Lords of the Spiritualty aroſe, and went into the Kings Chamber neere adjoyning.

But the King being moved in conſcience, and in charity, perceiving that in every worke they are to remember the end; and being willing (contrary to the rigour of the Law) to favour rather theſe that were guilty, then the actors in that Treaſon, if they were able to alledge any thing in their defence cauſed the Proceſſe to ceaſe: but the Peeres (being earneſt) requeſted, That no buſineſſe paſt, preſent, or to come, might be debated, untill this Treaſon were adjudged; to which Petition the King graciouſly granted his aſſent.

On the 11. day of February, when nothing could be alledged, nor no witneſſe produced, in juſtification of the conſpirators, but that the definitive ſentence of Condemnation muſt be pronounced againſt them, the aforeſaid *Iohn Devereux*, Marſhall of the Court, and for that time the Kings Lieutenant, adjudged them this heavie doome; That the ſaid Archbiſhop of York, Duke of Ireland, Earle of Suffolke, *Treſſilian*, and *Brambre*, ſhould be drawne from the Tower to Tyborne, and there to bee hanged upon a Gibbet untill they were dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiſcated, that none of their poſterity might be by them any way enriched.

On the 12. day of February, which was the firſt day of Shrovetide, *Nicholas Brambre* appeared in Parliament; and being charged with the aforeſaid Articles of Treaſon, he craved favour to adviſe of Counſell learned, and ſome longer time for his more full anſwer to his acculation: But the Judges charged him to anſwer ſeverally to every point in the Articles contained: whereunto *Brambre* anſwered, Whoſoever hath branded me with this ignominious marke, with him I am ready to fight in the Liſts, to maintaine my innocency, whenſoever the King ſhall appoint.

The Appellants hearing this courageous challenge, with reſolute countenance anſwered, That they would willingly accept of the Combat, and thereupon flung downe their Gages before the King; and on a ſudden the whole company of Lords, Knights, Eſquires, and Commons, flung downe their Gages ſo thicke, that they ſeemed like Snow in a Winters day, crying out, We alſo will accept of the Combat, and will prove theſe Articles to be true to thy head, moſt damnable Traytor, and ſo they departed for that day.

And although the Appellants were not idle in the night, yet on the next day, to aggravate their Appellation against the Conspirators, there came divers companies of the City of London, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by *Brambre*, and other Extortions and Exactions wherewith they had beene daily charged.

But before they proceed with his tryall, they were stayed by most unfortunate *Tresilian*, who being got upon the top of an house adjoyning to the Palace, and had descended into a gutter onely to looke about him, hee was discovered by certaine of the Peeres, who presently sent some of the Guard to apprehend him, who entring into the house where hee was, and having spent long time in vaine in looking for him, at length one of the Guard stept to the Master of the house, and taking him by the shoulder, with his dagger drawne, thus said, Shew us where thou hast hid *Tresilian*, or else resolve thy dayes are accomplished; the Master trembled, ready to yeeld up the ghost for feare, answered, Yonder is the place where he lyes, and shews him a round Table covered with branches of Bay, under which *Tresilian* lay close covered; when they had found him, they drew him out by the heeles, wondring to see him, as Vipers use, to weare his head and beard o're-grown, with old clowted shooes, and patched hose, more like a miserable poore beggar, then a Judge.

Tresilian being come into the Hall, was asked what he could say for himselfe, why judgement should not passe upon him for his treason so often committed, he became as one that had beene strucke dumbe, and his heart was as it were hardned to the very last, and would not confesse himselfe guilty of any thing; And for this cause the Parliament arose, deferring *Brambres* tryall till the next day. But *Tresilian* was without delay led to the Tower, that he might suffer the execution of the sentence passed against him.

Immediately *Tresilian* is upon a hurdle, and drawne thorow the streets of the City, with a wonderfull concourse of people following him, at every furlongs end he was suffered to stand still to rest himselfe, and to see if hee would confesse and report himselfe of any thing, but what hee said to the Fryer his Confessor is not knowne, neither am I able to search it out; when he came to the place of execution hee would not climbe the Ladder, untill such time as being soundly beaten with bats and staves, he was forced to goe up, and when he was up, he said, so long as I doe weare any thing upon me I shall not dye, wherefore the Executioner stripped him, and found certaine Images painted like to the signes of Heaven, and the head of a Devill painted, and the names of many of the Devils wrote in parchment, the exorcising toyes being taken away, and he was hanged up naked, and because the spectators should bee certainly assured that hee was dead, they cut his throat, and because the night approached, they let him hang untill the next

morning,

morning, and then his wife having obtained a licence of the King, tooke downe his body and carried it to the Grey-Fryers, where it was buried. On the morow sentence was likewise pronounced against *Brambre*, who being drawne upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyborne thorow the City, shewed himselfe very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgiveneſſe at the hands of God and men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged in time past, and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him; when the rope was about his necke ready to be turned off, a certaine young man, the sonne of one *Northampton*, asked if he had done justice to his Father or not, for *Northampton* was sometimes Maior of the City of *London* more wealthy and more substantiall then any else in the City, him did *Brambre* & *Tresilian* accuse of Treason and Conspiracie against the State, and condemned him to die, being dispoiled of his estate, he himselfe at length hardly escaped, to whom *Brambre* answered and confessed with bitter teares that what he did was most vile and wicked, and with an intent onely to murder and overthrow the said *Northampton*, for which craving pardon of the young man being suddenly turned off, and the Executioner cutting his throat, he dyed.

These men being dispatched, the Parliament discontinued their proceedings against the rest of the Conspirators till a more convenient time, and tooke into their considerations other more weighty affaires of the whole publicke, they made the Earle of *Arundell* Lord Admirall, giving him authority to resist and to repulse either by Sea or Land the enemies of the Crowne wheresoever he should finde them.

And it was further agreed on, that for the appeasing of all private discontents (if any were) the King and the rest of the Appellants with the rest of the Commissioners should dine together in the great Hall, which they did, and there was great joyning this reconciliation throw all the Kingdome.

When these things were concluded, they then began the arraignment of the Traytors, whereupon *John Blake* and *Thomas Vske* were indicted on the fourth day of March, who although they were men of inferiour quality, yet were they found to be parties in the said Treason; *Vske* was a Sergeant at Armes, and was indicted amongst the Conspirators, for that being late made Sheriffe of *Middlesex* he had indicted the five Appellants and the Commissioners as Traytors, and *Blake* was an Intelligencer of *Tresiliand*, one that also to-goe and come between the Conspirators, and raise the state and secrets of the treason from one to another.

And when they could say nothing to prove themselves cleare, sentence was pronounced upon them as their Maiters were before them, they were carried to the Tower, and from thence were dragged at the horse tayle to Tyborne, and there hanged.

But *Vske* obtained this favour, that his head was cut off after he was hanged

ged and set aloft upon Newgate for Fowles of the aire to take repast.

On the sixth day of March there were called to answer, *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, *William Burleigh*, *John Lollon*, and *John Carey* Baron of the Exchequer for their conspiracie against the Commissioners at *Nottingham*, but because it is not needfull to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the Peeres were trying them, the Clergie were retired into the Kings Chambers, but when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the Judges, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale arose hastily and went into the Parliament House, powring forth their complaints before the King and the Peeres humbly upon their knees, beseeching them for the love of God, the Virgin *Mary*, and of all the Saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of Judgement, they should shew favour, and not put to death the said Judges then present, and bitterly bewayling their iniquities in whose hearts the very life, soule, and spirit of our English Lawes lived, flourished and appeared, and there appeared great sorrow both on the one part of the Complainants and also of the Defendants.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, likewise with the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, whose hearts began to be mollified, and joyned with them in their lamentable Petition.

At length upon the intercession of the Clergie, the execution upon the persons was ceased, and their lives were granted them, but were sent to the Tower to be kept close prisoners.

On the twelfth of March, being Thursday, it happened that the aforesaid Knights, *Simon de Burleigh*, *John de Beauchamp*, *James Barowerse*, and *John Salisbury* were brought into the Parliament House where their accusations was read, proved, they found guilty, and not any way able to cleare themselves.

From this day almost till the Ascension of our Lord, the Parliament House was only taken up with the tryall of Sir *Symon Burleygh*, for three Appellants, *viz.* The Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the whole House of Commons, urged that execution might be performed according to the Law; and on the other side, the King and Queen, the Earles of *Derby* and *Nottingham*, and the Prior of Saint *John* his Uncle, with the major part of the upper House, did labour to have him saved.

There was also some muttering amongst the common people, and it was reported to the Parliament that the Commons did rise in divers parts of the Realm, but especially about *Kent*, in favour of the said Sir *Simon Burleigh*, which when they heard those that before spake and stood for him, now flew clean from him, and by joynt consent on the fifth day of May, sentence was

pre-

pronounced only against the said Sir *Simon*, that he should be drawne from the Tower to Tyborne, and there to be hanged till he were dead, and then to have his head strooke from his body. But because he was a Knight of the Garter, a gallant Courtier, powerfull, and once a Favourite of the Kings, and much respected of all the Court, the King of his speciall Grace, was pleased to mittigate his doome, that he should only be led to Tower-hill, and there be beheaded.

On the twelfth of May, the Thursday before Whitsontide, in like manner were condemned *John Beauchamp* Steward of the household to the King, *James Bereverons*, and *John Salsbury* Knights, Gentlemen of the privie Chamber, whereof the two first, *viz. John Beauchamp*, and *James Bereverons* were beheaded on Tower-hill, but *John Salsbury* was drawne from Tower-hill to Tyborne, and there was hanged.

On the same day also, was condemned the Bishop of *Chichester* the Kings Confessor, but because of his great dignity, he was pardoned.

And also concerning the translation of some Bishops, because Pope *Urban* the sixth, after it came to his ears, that the Archbishop of *York* was condemned to avoid all hope of Irregularity, he created him Archbishop of S. *Andrews* in *Scotland*: which Archbishop was under the power of *Scots*, enemies to the Crown; and in the gift of the Arch-Pope: and because the Pope did chalenge halfe the title of all *England* to maintaine his wars, but although he craved it, yet he was denied: therefore he dealt warily and craftily; hoping to make up his mouth by the translation of Bishops: the Bishop of *Ely* then Lord Chancellor, was made Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Dublin* succeeded in his place; the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* in his place: the Bishop of *Sarum* in his place, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham* Lord-keeper of the privie Seale in his place; and this by his translation of Bishops he gained himself much money, accotding to the laws of the Canon; and when this came to the ears of the Parliament, that such a sum of money should be transported out of the Land, they strove what they could to hinder it, but could not, because the Clergie gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the King appointed both Houses to meet at *Kensington* whereas they made a conclusion of all the triails of the said treason, granting license to *Thomas Trevet*, *William Elingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth* Knights, *Richard Metford*, *John Slake*, *John Lincolne*, Clerkes to put in bail provided they were sufficient, and to go into a place of *England* where they listed, without any let or hindrance of any of the Kings Officers. Moreover, the six Justices, with the Bishop of *Chichester*, who stood condemned with them, were sent into *Ireland*, there to remain for a tearm of life, & thus they were divided, *viz. Rob. Belknap* & *John Holt* in the Village of *Dromore* in *Ireland*, not to remain as Justices or any officers, but live as banished offenders, not to

be

be out of Towne above the ſpace of two miles upon paine of death? but the King out of his gracious bounty was pleaſed to give a yearly annuity of 40. pound to *Robert Belknap*, of twenty markes to *John Holt*, during their lives; and to *Roger Fulthrope* the King allowed forty pound, and to *William Burleigh* forty pound during life, confining them to the City of *Dublin*, granting *Burleigh* the liberty of two miles, and to *Fulthrope* three miles for their recreation, *John Carey* and *John Lofton* with the yearly allowance of twenty pound during life, are confined to the Towne of *Waterford* with the like liberty, and the like penalty; And the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* is likewiſe ſent to *Corke*, there to remaine with ſome allowance, and the like penalty.

On the third day of June, which was the laſt day of the Parliament, the King, the Queen, the Peeres of both Eſtates with the Commons, came to the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*, whereas the Biſhop of *London*, becauſe it was his Dioceſſe ſung Maſſe, and the Maſſe being ended, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* made an Oration concerning the forme and danger of the Oath, which being, although the Peers and Commons had taken the Oath of Allegiance, and homage to the King, yet becauſe the King was young when they tooke Oath anew (as at the firſt) at his Coronation.

Theſe Ceremonies being performed, the Metropolitan of *England* with all his Suffragans there preſent, having lighted a Candle, and putting it under a ſtoole, put it out, thereby excommunicating all ſuch as ſhould ſeeme to diſſake, diſlike or contradict any of the fore paſſed Acts in the laſt Parliament; And the Lord Chancellor by the Kings appointment, cauſed all that were preſent to ſweare to keep the ſaid Statutes inviolably whole, and undiſſolved, as good and faithfull Liege-people of the Kings, and the forme of the Parliament was obſerved throughout all the Realme.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous ſalutations and congratulations having paſſed betweene the King, the Nobility, and Communalty, the Parliament was diſſolved, and every man returned home.

And now let *England* rejoyce in Chriſt, for the net which was laid ſo cunningly for our deſtruction, is broken aſunder, and we are delivered. To God be the praiſe for all.

This Parliament begunne at Weſtminſter 1386. *in the tenth yeare of the reigne of King* Richard *the ſecond.*

FINIS.

The Queens Letter 2

From HOLLAND:

DIRECTED TO

THE KINGS MOST Excellent Maiesty.

Brought to the Parliament, and delivered to the custodie of

——*Hen. Elsing Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

VVhereunto is added His Majesties late Speech.

AND

The Copie of another Letter sent from an English Merchant in Holland to his brother in London concerning the manner of the Queens Preparation to come for England.

London printed for I. Vnderhill.

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London printed for I. [illegible]rshall.

The Queens Letter

SENT TO

The KINGS most excellent Majesty from Holland.

MOst Royall and Illustrious Monarch of great Brittaine, my great, my good and worthy Liege, the most regall object of my loving heart, best affections and utmost endeavours; Be pleased to let this paper in all humility to salute your Princely hands, and to give your Princely cogitations some account of my endeavours, (as I am bound in duty, and as I am your spouse and loyall wife) for your Majesty in my absence, my love having now no other wayes left of expression, but by being your humble and faithfull Agent in accommodating and promoting your high affaires, wherein if my words, the pledges, and earnest sollicitors for the improve-

ment of your preſent fame and glory, may carry in them any ſtrength of perſwaſion, I would earneſtly incite your Princely thoughts to a remembrance of your Majeſties reſolution to carry forward your deſignes untill they grow to a famous maturity and ripeneſſe: maintain and continue your cauſe in the hardy proſecution of your affaires, without any mitigation, unleſſe an honourable ſatisfaction may make you disbandon and raiſe your former intentions: Now you haue a large field given you, wherein the illuſtrious vertues inherent in your royall Perſon may be actually expreſſed, and give the whole Chriſtian world which are now ſpectators, and the eye of all Chriſtendome upon your Perſon, a clear approbation and teſtimony that your Majeſty merits that noble attribute annexed to your royall Title, *Defender of the Faith:* for by ſuch like actions as theſe, Princes live when they have paid their debt to nature, and wil be their own monument, which ſhalbe everlaſting, & more durable then that of Marble. Be therefore conſtant in your Princely reſolutions, full of your own cauſe, and your Majeſty ſhall never want external accommodations and forraigne compliances, which by my earneſt endeavours and ſolicitations have of late been ſomwhat advanced, having obtained a liſt from our Brother the Prince of Orange, from whence as the ſpecial merit did diſtinguiſh them in worth, I have ſelected out of that number ſome choice, well-experienced and ſerviceable ſouldiers, ſuch as ſhall be forward with couragious affections to maintaine your Princely affaires, and to amplifie your renown and glory in the ingagement of preſent actions: and out of theſe deſerving men, I haue choſen ſtout Com-

manders

manders, who will bee alwaies readie to doe Your Majestie service in your Armie; and that I might further supply and serve your present occasions, I have caused 400. barrels of Powder, and 10, pieces of ordnance, to be conveighed to your Majesty, besides good store of all other Ammunition, necessary upon all warlike occasions, the compliance of our noble Brother the Prince of Orange is so setled in a firme complexion, sympathising, and affectionately agreeing with the present condition of affaires, that he hath by many demonstrations given testimony thereof, and by raysing divers sums of money for my use hath endeavoured the inclination of his particular affections, amongst other accommodations least your Majestie should be any waye necessitated, I am to certifie your Majesty, that the Jewels of your Crown are for present receipts engaged to some certain Jewes of Amsterdam. Moreover I am to give your Highnesse cause to esteem the cheerefull undertakings and forward alacritie of our Brother the Prince of Orange, who will with all carefull vigilancie be readie to take all opportunities for your Majesties advantage, and will with cleere intentions wherein you may repose trust, bee ready to expresse himselfe in all Christian Offices. My acknowledgment of Prince Roberts valiant courage and love exprest in personall actions, & those adhering to your Majestie, being arrived to my knowledg by a letter lately sent to Mr. Jermin, must needs deserve my approbation and highest commendation, since his worth and noble actions are of such transcendent expression of Princely merit. Amongst the other endevoursof my affectionate de-

sires

ſires, the States have been earneſtly ſolicited for their ayde and aſſiſtance, which as yet cannot be induced upon them to grant, nor can J by any perſwaſion obtaine the effect of my urgent motion, though J hope my Letters ſent unto my Brother the French King, ſhall infuſe a Royall flame into his breaſt, and make him through accompable fullneſſe of your Highneſſe Cauſe, give ſuch aide unto your Majeſty, as may expreſſe him Royall in his thoughts, and tender of his Regall relation unto your Highneſſe; but if my Letter ſhould be ſo unhappie as not fully to inflame and inſtigate his mind to awake his power in your aide and defence, J cannot nor will not ſee your actions brought on with ſo much expectation any way diſanimated, but ſince the Ages hopes muſt be the production and buſineſſe of Your weighty affaires, my perſonall ſolicitation ſhall at my going into *France* enduce and incline my moſt Chriſtian brother to appeare in pramoting and aſſiſting your Majeſties cauſe and actions, which are ſo full of honourable Juſtice: though abſent till we be reſident in your Princely heart, and believe my affections and endeavours are ever ready to ſerve your Majeſty.

Sir, I am and alwaies ſhall be your moſt dutifull wife and liege woman.

HENERETTA, MARIA,

The

The Substance of a Letter sent from A Marchant in Holland, to his Brother in London.

OVr Queen is within nine Miles of the place where we now are, she is again to take shhipping for *England*, wee saw twelve States men of Warre that are to carry her for *England*, and here at *Rotterdam*, where wee now are, foure Ships and Hoyes laden with Powder Ammunition, and Horses, and there is so many more at *Amsterdam*, laden with Ammunition, all to go with the Queen to the King, this is of a truth I was an Eye witnesse of it.

F. VV.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation on Sunday Feb. the 5, before the Lords and Vniversity of *Oxford*, for the renouncing of Popery.

ON the fift of this present Moneth, his Majestie being resident at *Oxford*, and attended with a brave Train of the Nobility, heard a Sermon that morning in the Cathedrall Church: which being ended, and the holy Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, being that day celebrated, his Majestie beholding a great multitude of his Nobilitie round about him, spake thus unto them.

My

My Lords; Although J am not bound to give account to any of my thoughts but unto God alone, yet for your better satisfaction, and that my People might understand how much J have suffered by prejudicate Rumour and opinion; J this day protest before the face of Almightie God, and before you all, that in my heart I am farre from Poperie, and so by Gods grace will continue unto the end of my life; neither did my Queen ever to my knowledge so much as perswade me once to alter my Religion.

FINIS.

K. P. P. London

3

Numb. 5.

CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 13. of *February*, to the 20. of *February*, 1643.

Munday, Febr. 13.

MAny hundreds of well-affected and good people in and about the City of *London*, who are constant to the true Protestant Cause, and to the end that our Parliament, Laws, Liberties, and Properties now at the stake, may not be crushed and extirpated by Papists and Malevolents, who by force of Armes endeavour to violate and ruinate them all, have consulted to raise amongst themselves constant supplies of money, for the maintenance of the Army raised by the authority of the high Court of Parliament, and to the end that their pay may be distributed to their mindes, they intended to propound to the Parliament, and to the Lo: Generall, that they might have liberty to elect Treasurers and Commissaries of their owne, in whom they might confide for the true and faithfull disbursing of their stipends, to those only that are in service, and if the Captaines and Officers of the Army should disgust this course, and thereupon be willing to desert their places, that then they would finde others that are willing and ready to performe the service.

But since the late Vote for disbanding of all the Armies, they are interrupted in their resolutions, and somewhat disanimated in the progresse of their purposes, though without any true ground or cause, for let them rest assured, that neither the Cavaliers in and about *Oxford*, nor the Earles of *Derby, Rivers, Newcastle*, nor their adherents, nor *Hopton*, or his complices, nor any Papists that have, contrary to the Laws, taken up Arms, will desert their cause so long as they have any hope to prevaile, wherefore let them take

encouragement by the example of those well-minded persons, that since the said Vote, have subscribed some thousands of pounds at Haberdashers Hall, for the defence of the oppressed County of *Glouceſter*, and for the present security of the Cities of *Briſtoll*, *Glouceſter*, and other Western Counties, against the enemies that now infeſt them, and untill they ſee the Armies actually disbanded, let them go on and looſe no precious time.

The King by Warrants under his hand and Signe Manuall, hath commanded all the Gunners in the Ships under the Earl of *Warwicks* command, to leave that ſervice, and to repaire to him at *Oxford*, under the penalty of his diſpleaſure, and loſſe of their places; the intent thereof being to make the Ships uſeleſſe for the ſervice of the Parliament and Kingdome, that ſo forraigne enemies may have the eaſier admittance into this Land, to conquer and ſubdue it, but the Earle careth not for their ſervice, in regard he hath others to ſupply their places, their number being not much above 20, and ſo not greatly valuable: Thus every day produceth new plots and ſubtile policies, to enervate the Parliament, & endamage the Common-wealth.

From *Oxford* it is informed, that the *Cirenceſter* men which were taken priſoners and brought thither, have ſubmitted themſelves to the King, and liſted themſelves for his ſouldiers, whereupon they are releaſed out of reſtraint, have their Armes reſtored unto them, and march out daily to be exerciſed and trained; only fifty of them ſtand out and refuſe to comply, and thereupon are inforced to work in the Trenches that are raiſing about that City.

The Inhabitants of *Tewxbury* in *Glouceſterſhire*, finding their Towne not defenſible enough if the Cavaliers ſhould aſſault it, have taken their Ordnance, Arms and Goods out of it, and carryed all down the Severn to *Glouceſter*, hoping to ſecure them all there, by which meanes, with addition of other forces out of thoſe parts of the County, there are at the leaſt 5000. men gotten into that City to defend it; Since which deſerting of that Towne, it is ſaid, that Prince *Rupert* hath gotten poſſeſſion thereof, where he may interrupt all Barges and Boats that ſhall paſſe down the Severn to *Glouceſter*.

The Commiſſioners that are ſent by the State of *Scotland* to the King, were to be at *Nottingham* on Saturday night laſt, from whence they are to goe to *Oxford*, and, as it is ſaid, they bring along with them a Petition, to deſire the King to disband the Popiſh Army in the North, and to doe what he can to convert his Queen to the Proteſtant Religion.

From *Briſtoll* they write, that the well-affected Inhabitants thereof have aſſociated themſelves for their mutuall defence, and that they ſtand upon their

their guard against the Malevolents amongst them, that Colonell *Essex* hath slaine one of his souldiers for demanding his pay in a peaceable manner, and hath procured himselfe to be acquitted of the murther, by a Councell of War of his own choosing, that he frequently feasteth with the Malignants there, and most familiarly frequenteth their companies, that he is a great swearer and drinker, which reprovable deportments maketh the People to feare and suspect his fidelity to the Parliament, and care of their preservations, and that they have gotten in to them Colonell *Popham* of *Sommersetshire* to help to secure them, lest Colonell *Essex* should betray them to the Cavaliers, upon any approach of them to that City.

Serieant Major *Griffith* with a brave Troope of Horse, raised at his owne proper costs and charges, went on Saturday last from hence to *Ware*, and from thence he goeth into *Lincolnshire*, to help the Lo: *Willoughby* of *Parham*, against the Earle of *Newcastles* forces in *Newarke* upon *Trent*, and *Belvoir* Castle, a house belonging to the Earle of *Rutland*.

The Garrison at *Henley* upon Thames have suffered a load of Wine to passe through that Town, because it was alleaged to be for the Kings owne drinking: but let them beware, lest under such colours, they permit Gunpowder, Match, and other hostile provisions to passe, contrary to the Parliaments Order.

Out of *Yorkeshire* it is informed by three severall Letters, from three severall persons, that the Earle of *Newcastle*, through an extreame discontent for the unprosperous successe of his designes in that County, is fallen into such a deep Melancholly, that thereby he is become distracted in his minde, and stark mad: *Great Spirits cannot brooke to eat Crosses.*

Tuesday, Febr. 14

The Miners in *Derbyshire* sent a Petition to the Earle of *Newcastle*, to desire that they might have free trade for their Lead to *Hull* and *London*, but he swore before it was read, that he would not grant the Miners request: Yet with much intreaty *Rowlston* his Secretary read it unto him, whereunto the Earle answered, that they might set their hearts at rest, for he would not grant their requests, for said he, if there should be free trade granted and allowed to *Hull* and *London*, they being all Traytors to the Kings person and government, they would get money and meanes to continue the war against the King, therefore he was resolved not to suffer any trade to his power. Whereupon one of the Petitioners objected, that if the vent of the Lead were stopped, it would cause the Miners to plunder and pillage the Countrey, whereby he might procure to himselfe many thousands of enemies, whereunto

unto the said Earle, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Will. Carbair* answered, that they would have them plunder all men, and as soon as he could, he would plunder *Derbyshire*, and help them; and for the procuring of himselfe many enemies, he weighed it not, saying, The more enemies, the more money and land would be gotten, swearing most horibly, that he would plunder all the men he could, and that his souldiers should roast mens feet against the fire, and baste them with Oyle, to force them to confesse where their monies and goods were hidden, whereupon the Petitioners gave humble language, and so with an absolute deniall to their Petion, departted.

This Information is attested by credible persons that presented the said Petition to the Earle, therefore oh *England* awake out of the Lethargy of security, and see to what saccage, losses and tortures thou art destined by these immane blood-suckers, suppresse these prophane tyrannicall sweaters betimes, lest thou cry out too late, had I wist, and there be no arme of flesh to help thee.

From *Excester* they write, that some 5 or 600. of the countrey people with clubs and poles with hookes at the end of them, were gaithered together at *Chegsorde* about 15. miles from thence, against whome Sir *Ralph Hopton* sent neere 2000. of his souldiers to surprize and rout them; but the People held them play, and kept them of onely with those rude weapons, untill theire Musketiers came in to aide them at whose sight the Enemie fled, and left slaine upon the place three of their Captaines, namely Gopolphen, Morton, and the gentleman of Sir *Ralph Hoptons* Horse.

Out of *Cheshire* they write, that Sir *William Brereton* it grown strong in force by the the aide of the Countrey people, for he hath brought 1500. horse, besides foote, and so farre he prevaileth, that he carieth the whole County before him, and that the Commissioners of Array with their ragged and unarmed welshmen dare not confront him.

Out of *Yorkshire* it is Informed, that Generall King with all his forces money, Cannon, Gunpowder and Ammunition, is gotten safe to *Yorke*, notwithstanding Sir *Thomas Fairefax* and his Army was in view of him, whom he deceived by making shew of marching aside, for in the night time he rose with his Army and marched away to *Yorke*, the other not knowing thereof. And that the most of the inhabitants of Newcastle being weary of the taxes imposed upon them, desire, that the Parliament would send them a 1000. men, by whose helpe they douqt not, but speedily to reduce not onely that Towne, but also the County of Northumberland, and the Bishopricke of Durham to their obedience.

From

From *Manchester* they write, that Sir *John Seton* their Major Generall, went out the laſt weeke, with foure Troupes of horſe and ſome Companies of foote to *Preſton*, about 20. miles from thence, and ſtormed it with ſuch courage, that he tooke it in few houres, with the loſſe only of two of his men, and that he alſo took there ſome Captaines and Lieutenants, two pieces of Ordnance, and a murdering piece, with 300. Arms, and ſome barrels of Gunpowder, and that amongſt the Inhabitants that were ſlaine, the Mayor and his Son loſt their lives alſo.

The Lords did not debate this day, the houſe of Commons late Votes for the disbanding of all the Armies, &c, but referred it untill the next day, and adjourned their houſe untill to morrow morning.

Wedneſday, Feb. 15.

Out of the Weſterne parts, it rs informed, that Sir *Ralph Hopton* is made a Baron and Peere of this Realme, partly to recompence the aſſiduous labour he hath imployed, in advancing and promoting the Kings ſervice there, and partly in policy, to exempt him from the cenſure of the Houſe of Commons, if he ſhould happen to be apprehended and brought up hither, and is from thence conſtantly affirmed, that he was not ſlaine on his late aſſault upon the Towne of *Plymouth*: but it is rather beleeved, that Sir *Bevil Grenvill*, or ſome other great *Corniſh* man loſt his legge at that aſſault, howſoever the next weekes Newes from thence, will without queſtion declare the certainty.

From *Derby* they write, that the Inhabitants thereof are ſtill buſie in fortifying that Towne, and making Bulwarkes, and Trenches round about it, and that the worke is yet but halfe done. That Captaine *Munday* and his company are gone into the Peake, from whence they daily ſend in Malignolents to them, and that Sir *George Crealy* Baronet, who is Captaine of their Horſe, goes out every day to cleare thoſe coaſts from Pillagers with his Troopes, that they brought lately into the Towne, horſes, money, and cattle, from Sir *Edw. Moſley*, and from *Barracour*, and other places. Mr. *Hen. Haſtings* who is ſtill at *Aſhby de la Zouch*, threatneth to viſit them, and to breakfaſt with them ſome morning or other, but they wiſh he might neither eate nor drink untill he come to fight with them, and the think that hey dares not come within their precincts. The Lord *Grey* being at *Nottingham*, ſent for their diſaffected Priſoners, as namely, Dr. *Morton*, Mr. *John Bullocke*, Mr. *Peter Kniveton*, Mr. *Cuff*, and Mr. *John Bonſall*, but his Lordſhip being ſent for to *Leceſter*, they were remanded againe to their former habitation in *Derby*, The Townſmen want ſome proviſions, which they would fame get from *London*, but they dare not ſend for them, becauſe Mr. *Haſtings* ſtops

trading, and interceps the Carriers, and now some of them are come up hither, to desire their well-affected Countrymen that are Citizens of *London* to afford their aide to raise some Dragoneres to send downe thither, to drive him and his Pillagers out of those parts.

Yesterday, the Earle of *Lindsey*, one of the *Scottish* Commissioners that resideth here, went to meete the other Commissioners that are come from *Scotland*, to goe with a Petition to the King to *Oxford*, whose successe will be shortly made knowne to the whole Kingdome.

The Lords met this day in their House, to consult about the disbanding of the Armies, but they put of the businesse unto Friday next, and so nothing was done about it, and they deferred the Conference with the House of Commons also untill that time. *Thursday. Feb.* 19.

The Parliament is informed out of *Ireland* by their Committee resident there, that the King hath sent a Commission to the Lords Justices & Councell of that Kingdome, to Treat with the Rebels for the laying downe of their Armes, and disbanding of their forces (and as it is said also) that he hath sent Warrants to all the Protestant Commanders there, to disband their Armies, but as for the Rebels, in all probability they will not lay downe their Armes, untill their Religion, Persons, and Lands may be secured according to their owne desires. and if the Protestants disband, the next thing they may expect, will be the cutting of their throats, and in all likelihood, this is conceived to be a plot to quiet the Rebels, and end the Warre there, that so with free liberty they may comeover and helpe the Cavaliers to subdue this Kingdome, and extinguish the Protestant Religion.

From *Hamburge* they write, that 25. or 30. Ships are making ready in *Denmarke*, and though they keepe their designe close, yet *England* may expect to heare of them sooner then they are aware, for the prevention whereof, sixe ships more are making ready here to goe to *Newcastle*, to joyne with those foure ships that went formerly to secure that Harbour, and to keepe all forraigne forces from entrance into that Towne, but whether such small force can be able to keepe of the *Danish* Fleet may well be suspected. Captaine *Hervey* having notice, that the Lord *Herbert*, sonne to the Earle of *Worcester*, in a disguised habit, was newly gone from hence towards *Oxford*, made after him with his Troop, and tooke him a place called *Come*, and brought him to the House of Lords, who presently released him againe, notwithstanding the disaffection he hath testified to the Parliament, and the forces which from time to time he hath raised against them.

The Report is, that the Parliaments ship called the Providence, (which lieth by their appointment upon the coasts to take all *English* ships that come from

from thence with Armes, Money, and Ammunition against them, into any pa t of *England*) hath taken a ship comming from *Roterdam*, with 38 peeces of Ordnance 28. Barrels of Gunpowder, and other hostile provisions, that was going to *Newcastle*.

Sir *William Brereton* sent out of *Namptwich* 31 of his Dragoneers, to a Gentlemans house thereabouts to fetch two prisoners that were Array men, these having received them in their returne backe, met with a Troope of the Earle of *Derbies*, consisting of above 50. horse under Captaine *Savage*, that were plundering of a towne, called *Morton*, whom they routed, tooke 8 of them, and drove away the rest, so that in all Sir *William* hath gotten 140. prisoners already. *Friday, Febr.* 17.

The Kings forces subdued all *Glouceſterſhire*, the City of *Glouceſter* onely excepted, and they have imposed 3600 li. a moneth upon the County for a Taxe, yet it is hoped that Sir *William Waller* will redeeme them shortly, for here is 9000 li. raised, and the Clothiers will contribute 6000 li. more to set him forth to helpe them.

This day the House of Commons sent Master *Martin* and some other of their Members up to the House of Lords, to desire them to give a positive Answer, whether they would concurre with them in disbanding the Armies, or no, and after they had delivered their message, the Peeres fell into consultation about the matter, and having debated it, the greater Part of them voted a Cessation of armes for 20. dayes, and so in effect the Armies are in statu quo prius.

The Inhabitants of the Northern parts of *Staffordshire*, who are called Moorelanders, to the number of 6. of 8000. men, with countrey weapons, besiege the Towne of Stafford, wherein is *Cmetfold* the high Sheriffe of that county, and Sir *Francis Wortley* a *Yorkshire* knight, with 3. or 400 Papists and malevolents, and those Countrey people are so eager in the prosecution of them, that they will receive no satisfaction, untill they be delivered up, to them, and that they have given them punishment for their former plundering of them.

Out of *Cheshire* they write, that Sir *William Brereton* hath taken 2. or 3. trunckes, wherein was found to the value 4000. li. plate and money, which was going through that County to *Shrewsbury* from the *Lancashire* Papists, who have also heretofore sent moneyes thither, to aide the *Solopian* Commissioners of Array.

The Commissioners of Array in *Shropshire*, have sent out some of their forces, to helpe the Array men in *Cheshire* against Sir *William Brereton*, and they went as farre as *Whitchurch*, and there they stay, because they are unwilling

ling to goe out of their owne County, though the King had associated those two Counties against the Parliament when he was at *Shrewsbury*, and the Country people there doe but comply for feare, as being overawed, and they are loth to here of the Cavaliers comming to them againe, (as it is bruited they will) because they were at such excessive charges in maintaining of them whilst they were in that Shire.

From *Plymouth* it is informed that the L. *Hopton* dayly summoneth them to yeeld, which they valiantly refuse, because they have the sea open, and 5000. men to defend them, and that their ships have taken of the *Cornish* ships that came from *Falmouth*, and were going into *France*, and have made prises of them.

Saturday. Febr. 18.

The Lord *Brooke* is gone from hence about foure dayes since, and on *Wednesday* next last he came to *Northampton*, where his Rendevous is, from thence he goeth with all his forces, Ordnance, and carriages to *Warwicke*, where the Inhabitants of that County, and also of *Staffordshire*, will send him store of men to make a great Army.

Prince *Rupert* was yesterday at *Redding*, and hath drawne some of his forces from their other Quarters to that Towne, whereupon it is supposed, that he will fall upon all the Lo: Generals Quarters thereabouts at once, to break his way through, either for *London* or *Cambridge*.

At *Wexford* in *Ireland* lie a great many Barques, ready to convey the Irish Rebels over into *England*, which they may easily doe into *Milford* Haven in *Pembrokeshire*, because there are none of the Parliaments Ships to secure that Habour, and stop their landing, they may also land at *Falmouth*, where they shall finde shelter at *Pendennis* Castle, which commandeth all that habour, by the malignity and falsi y of Sir *Nicholas Slaning* Governour thereof, and that place may prove a considerable inlet for them, in regard the *Cornish* men are so disaffected to the Parliament, and the good of this Kingdome, witnesse their ready complyance with the L. *Hopton* and his adherents.

Out of Devonshire it is informed, that the Inhabitants of that County, to the number of about 14000. are gathered together in a body, and marching towards Plimouth to raise the siege there, and that the Town of Totnes hath gotten about 5000. men out of the parts adjacent, to defend them from the L. Hopton and his forces, so that he will not be able to make any retreate that way, as he formerly did, when he was forced to quit his first siege of Plimouth.

Yesterday the Lords affirmed again their Votes for a Cessation of Arms for 20. dayes, to begin when the Treaty first beginneth between the King and Parliament, yet with restrictions, as that all the Armies shall remain in the places where they now are, and that there shall be no commerce, or any thing carried to any of the Kings Armies, which, as is supposed, the King will never agree unto, because his Proposition is to have free trade.

A 4

WARNING-PIECE

To all His

MAIESTIES

subjects of England.

Being the Lamentable Complaint of them that were brought Prisoners from Cycester, being eleven hundred sixty and odde, told in the view of all for their misguided zeale.

Conteining the motives by which they have bin drawne into Rebellion against their Lawfull KING.

Desired by them to be Printed for a Warning to their Brethren.

Feb 20 1642

Printed at Oxford, and now reprinted at London, 1642.

MANIFESTIES

Being eleven Hundred fixty and odd Copies of a

Declaring the motives by which they

Delivered by them to be Printed for

a Warning to their Brethren.

Printed at Oxford, and now reprinted at London, 1642.

A WARNING-PIECE To all HIS MAIESTIES Subjects.

Gentlemen,

YOu are here come to behold a miserable spectacle of poore injur'd people, by the lying lips of them, to whose mischievous Enchantements we have lent too much an eare. Had wee bin permitted to have quietly followed our callings (without being blowne upon by the breath of Sedition, by those men you have in your Custody) we had not had Cause now to complaine, or to deplore our most unhappy fortune. We speake not this to lessen our fault, wee are sufficiently convinced by the heinousnesse of it: now that our sufferings, together with our gentle usage, (considering our offence) hath lent us other Eyes then those which before we saw with; but to shew you and al the world, with what cunning Sophistry we have bin dealt with, and how loud the Sins of those (who would be still cal'd Parliament-Men) doe call to Heaven for Vengeance, for this most unnaturall and irreligious war, Meerely of their procurement. First then to give you an account of the beginning of our ills, at that time, that our most gracious King did give us the freedome of our voyces in the Election of our PARLIAMENT-Men, wee were told that

Popery was favoured, and now by all means we must chuse such men as were directly opposite to that Religion; had we rested there, we had done well, but alas! wee did not onely so, but our voyces being (by some appointed for that purpose) either threatned or bought, we chose such as were not knowne to us, by any Vertue, but onely that of crosenesse to superiours: hereupon the beginning of our Parliaments are for the most part better, and in the end declineth, whilst our Suffrages are either awed or bought: which if it were forbidden, the conclusion would be our Soveraignes honour, and the Peoples good. Next, when as they thought they had sufficiently engaged us for their defence by this our Election, they did for a while sweeten us with good Lawes, for the taking away of all Monopolies, Ship-Money, and other grievances, which they obtain'd of our gracious Soveraigne, who was more ready to consent, then they to desire them, who denyed them nothing had any relation to the Peoples ease, or satisfaction for passed wrongs. But now fearing lest if things went on thus fairely, the sufferings of the People would be imputed to them (who were for the most part gainers by those Monopolies, the King having nothing of the profit, but the Envy of suffering those decay'd men to make their fortunes at the charge of the Peoples undoing) they began to act a new Part, making the Kings willingnesse to grant, an Argument that he could not deny any thing, to this purpose Declarations are framed, and sent us with all possible speed, by men continually imployed for that purpose, shewing us the large extent of the Priviledges of Parliament, and in one, how that if they did depose our most Pious King, they did not swerve from their duty: now you must think, that they might easily make us believe any thing who knew nothing, nor ever considered how that there's no such thing as a Parliament without the King, nor no Act or

Order

Order of validity to bind the ſubject without the Kings conſent. Nor was it to be imagined, that we, who for the moſt part were bred at the Plough, ſhould be able to diſcuſſe the Rights of a Scepter: yet ſo it was, you may imagine by what Right we were made Judges, as the frequency of theſe Declarations ſhewed: but it was not indeed ſo much our ſatisfaction in poynt of judgment, which they ſought, as in will and affection, with our perſons and eſtates to ayd and aſſiſt them in all their Deſignes, how unlawfull ſoever. And now having, as they thought, with theſe Arts, and other Coyned Inventions (not like His Majeſties new Coyne, with this inſcription,

Exurgat Deus, diſſipentur inimici. Religio Proteſtantium, Leges Angliæ, Libertat. Parliamentorum.

Where he doth, by the greateſt obligation that any Prince can invent, engage himſelfe to Poſterity inviolably to obſerve and maintaine the true *Proteſtants* Religion, the *Lawes of the Land*, and the *Priviledge of Parliaments*) but of ſtrangely found letters of Papiſts, and ſtrange aſſurances from beyond Seas, now of this Nation, then of that, which came to invade us by the Kings invitation: and having weakned him, by the taking away of ſome of his friends, brought things into a pretty forwardneſſe, it behooved them to ſatisfie the conſcience for the next great worke, which was a totall ſubverſion of our ſo long enjoyed Peace, under ſo many famous Monarches, by overthrowing this ſo every where famous and flouriſhing Monarchy, which could not be effected, but (which God forbid) by the death of Him which now Reignes. Now have we Lecturers put upon us, who at firſt perſwade us with many faire words the huge and unwearied endeavours of the Parliament for our *Goods*, and how they contemne their Lives and Fortunes for our ſakes, ſo to perſwade us, in Gratitude, not to doe leſſe for them then they had done for us; and indeed, being our ſer-

vants we would, and ought to maintaine them in that which could with Loyalty be maintaind, and the maintaining them farther hath brought us into this condition you now see us; thus having surrounded us with all these cunning devises to entrap us, who were apt enough (God knowes) to be deceived, they led us a step higher; like the Divell when he tempted our Saviour; telling us, that if we would now stand to them in this urgent necessity, they would make us the happiest People in the world, and now these firebrands of sedition, our Lecturers, are to tell us in all their Sermons, or rather pratings, the happy condition of the low-countries, and, so far forth as they yet durst, give us to understand they meant to bring our Government to theirs; knowing we would never consider how slavishly they live, paying a great custome or excise for every loafe of bread, and drope of drinke they have, nor that they themselves would never indure an other Common-wealth (in poynt of policy) to be so neere them; and it seemes that did not long please, whether they mistrusted their dislike, by their assisting us what they could with Armes and other things of much advantage to the King, and disadvantage to them; or whether it did check their particular designes, is not certaine. And now failing of that designe, they began a new one: The King is pretended to be abused by ill Counsell, and must by our assistance be brought up to his Parliament, out of the hands of the Cavaliers, whom now we see with our eyes to be the Flower of the Parliament, Nobility, and Gentry of the Kingdome. Armes must be levyed in the feare of God, (as they tearme it) to side with the divell, as we have cause to beleeve they meane it, and we must now endeavour to kill the King in defence of His Majesty, and at last after the Battle at *Edge hill*, and the Murder of so many soules, and truth endeavouring a little more to discover her selfe, they begin like the Divell to thrust us into

the

the last act of despaire, telling us 'tis now too late to goe backe, and that our sin was like the sin of *Caine*, too great to be forgiven, and that we must now at the least defend our selves from *Prince Ruperts* Plundering, (for they were ashamed now to use the Kings name any longer) it being notoriously knowne His unparaleld mercy, I beseech God grant it hardens not many of them in mischiefe, that when at any time any of us were taken, he did well intreat us, and such as would serve him might, the rest onely with an Oath to be Loyall, and a short admonition for the time to come not to be misled for their ruine, were dismissed, who, wee dread to speake it, did afterwards serve at *Brainford* against him, having as it seemes beene absolv'd by some Ministers from their Oath by the most unheard of Jesuiticall wickednesse that any age can ever mention. And what befell us in this (Gentlemen) you now see, whereas we might peaceably, with our Wives and Children, have enjoy'd these blessings of Goods, that God by our Industry had bestowed on us, by humbly submitting our selves, as was most just, to His Majesties Government, abused by their damnable Flattery and Lyes, never hearing nor suffer'd to know His Majesties generall Pardon, put our selves upon our defence, and it hath happned unto us according to our deservings, and the justnesse of our Cause, having with the losse onely of a few men on their side, scarce worth the Reckoning, lost, in little more then an houre, besides abundance of our Lives, [illegible] as you see, Eleven hundred, threescore and odde of us Prisoners, enough if our Cause had beene (as was pretended) favoured by the Almighty, to have kept him knocking at our Gates this twelvemonth, and yet have we received more mercy and favour from him also, (our offence considered) then we could any way expect from His Victorious Armes; being as mercifull now unto us Conquered, as

Cruell

Cruell when we would not hearken to his good advice.

Thus Noble Gentlemen, have we made knowne our misfortunes, and grievous sufferings under the Treacherous Goverment of those we tooke for friends, not so much that we desire to procure your pitty unto us, who cannot suffer more then we judge our selves worthy off, but that (if it be possible) our lamentable and most unfained Story, comming, to the eares of our poore Brethren, who, enchanted by the same malice, are likely to undergoe the same misery, if a timely prevention happen not, may recall them from the same errour; for we by a most certaine experience find the cause to be naught, and followed with the justice of Heaven.

Wherefore we adjure you, as you will answer it at the dreadfull day of Judgement, that you lay these things carefully to heart, which we out of the anguish of our Soules have delivered unto these Gentlemen, and doe desire it may come unto you to consider how high your offences runne, even to the resisting the Ordinance of God, in the Sacred Person of the King, and his Children, envolving the ruine of your selves, your Wives and Children in these publique Calamities; and that never any sinne of this kind went unpunished, and God of his Mercy open all your Eyes.

FINIS.

A

COPY OF

Two Remonstrances,

Brought Over

THE RIVER STIX

IN

Carons Ferry-Boate;

By the Ghost of Sir

JOHN SUCKLING.

The one, *to the Earle of* New-Castle, *and the Popish Army.*

The other, *to the Protestants of* England.

Wherein is many things mentioned worthy the due Observation of all those that love God and King CHARLES; and desire Peace.

London *Printed for a faithfull Royalisti, Anno* Dom. MDCXLIII.

K: 204 1642

COPY

To the Earle of NEWCASTLE, *and his Popish Army.*

MY Lords and Gentlemen and the rest of this Popish Army, I beseech you be not acathed to behold me raised againe from the deade in the world, sith the sighs and teares of poore *England*, have broken up my Tombe, and the cruell intentions of the motrous of my heart when I was living, have violently drawne my poore Soule to cry aloud to you, but alas I feare that my admonitions will prove as unprofitable as charitable.

Do but call to minde our former Treasons, when I was as active as any Papist.

1 To seize on the Tower, the Liveteuant to have twenty thousand pounds, his Sonne to marry with Sraffords daughter, with meanes to live on; Strafford to be sent into IRELAND, an to send an Army hither and to go into France to prepare an Army from thence: this you know god prevented, and *straford* was beheaded, and yet *Ireland* Rebel'd. 2. to posesse the northerne Armies of an ill oppinion of the house, and to make them advance to *London*, this you know was prevented also. 3. To deliver *Portsmouth* into Iarmins hands to be a Randevoues for the french Papists but he was faine to fly as well as I. 4. The Bishops to Raise two thousand horse. 5. The Lord of New-Castle to be made Generall of the Northren Army, and to have met them with the Army at *Nottingham*.

It may be, you will boast of these two last projects, but I would you would consider what I neglected, and not drawe upon your selves murthers, plagues, famines, and other miseries; do you not here the voyce of innocent bloud. which cryes out & sayes that your cruelty are great crimes before God, and your guiltinesse of cruell murther; you may one day feele that trouble of soule whereof I am now so sensible, for the great disorder of those inventions which we carry with fire at our backes, whilest we played a thousand crowns at Dice upon a table after dinner &c. But whilest you are thus the murtherers of others, you shall also most assuredly bring destruction upon your owne soules; And you that are Protestants among them, this shall be the greatest favour that some of you shall obtaine, that you shalbe the last that shalbe devoured.

Were it not better then, that you should joyne your affections, your courage, and that force which as yet you have resting, altogether to save and defend your KING, Parliament, Religion, Law, and Liberty, from this sheeppracke; and rather drowne your Enemies therein. It may be that your the Lords and Gentlemen will say, that this conjunction is impossible, and in vaine; & as much as you should not be seconded by the Nobility. It may be that your fidility formerly past and committed hath much devided your affections, but now you perceive and know the damage, and hurt that this infidility hath done unto you; and the great good from which it doth with draw you, set upon the Papists the authors thereof. It is a sad thing that men should never cease to sinn; and that your consciences should never stirre nor move you to Repentance; specially at this day: when doth one of your

honours

slices and good rate interest therein, have yo not seene affections now seperated to be reioyned and united a-gaine, thereby to withstand and oppose a common enemy: Doggs do the same against Wolves, to save their flockes; and children against strangers, to preserve their owne houses: Doe it then to defend your Kings honour, your Native Country, Lawes and Liberty, Religion, Estates: In a word to save that, for this which you waste, and are devided among your selves; if not, then hereafter do not pretend that there is any life, dwelling state, quality, honour, or good whatsoever resting to be saved for our England, I and no other way of safety for you: it is not fight, nor desperate resolutions that can save you; I cannot see any hope otherwise of any honest and honourable death, is the only griefe that a man can do nothing, in this respect; do not cause the most courageous and best beloved of God, to dye for sorrow, that is they may not be kept as a pray to the Papists Tyranny, and the object of their cruelty.

To the Protestants of ENGLAND.

YOu famous Nobility, the true Protestants of *England*, that have obtained your great Priviledges; for having so often beene the Fundamentall stones of this state cimented with your bloud: Infinite times the protections of our Kings, bridles against usurpations of strangers, can you degenerate, or become faint-hearted, and bandon the ensignes of your vertues, so dearely woone and obtained for prey to your enemies.

Suppose that an upstart Popish Army hath those that discover their treason and tyranny and are able to approove them for the same, it is much if the children that are borne under it, may be sure of their lives the papists fearing will no doubt be cruell against you then with a good will and couragious heart, follow the good motious of your King and Parliament: I know that many there are in the Kingdome, that have laboured to coole the heart of your zeale, but let not them hinder nor with draw you, in this worthy occasion, to joyne with those who seeke the preservation of your Country and your selves. And you my Masters of the Commonnulty, effect this last worke, for the healing of your disease, for which purpose you have sent your representative body to stand for you in their places in the high Coutt of Parliament, they are faithfull to them, but you procure your owne sickneſſe by being lulld a sleepe with false pretences of the Papists, thereby to pull the sky of from their backs: you are fedd with false pretences, to maintaine and support your patience and to lay sugar upon the long pills of poyson which they make you swallow downe, many of you are so sicke that you feele not your paine, and many that feele it can finde no ease but sighs, or at least some silent groanss it is not enough, you must cry out, and that so loud that you may be understood, speake boldly and flatter not your selves, feare not your enemies, yo u cannot be worse then you are, but you may hope for change, tell them that you have seene your last liberty (if Papists should triumph) and that you now feele the extreamity of their treachiry, unlſpeeses be remeders, it is now time or never, to free the spirit of our Royall King, and his state, and to pull away the

foote

foote that is ready to tread upon his belly, drownd his enemies in your bloud, I intend not hereby to make or intice you to a greater comotion, or to stirr up new disorders amongst your selves, my endeavouring is cleane contrary, you aught to joyne and remit all your affection and interest together for the peace of distressed *England*, Then altogether with one voice require that the Popish Army may be called in question to yeld account of their Reising and commissions; they for their ill doing are subject to the Law, and to justice, as well as now they openly dominier in their Randevouz, as when they seduced in corners.

Is it not great reason that every one should yeild account of their actions, doth not our Royall King himselfe gratifie his Subjects with declarations, why then should they that are subjects refuse to appeare before the high Court of Parliament before that honourable Senate at *Westminster*, where Papish hath no place, their they should obtaine but too great honour to be tryed and Iudged by their peers, if consience make them shunn and abhorr their state, and their courage perswade them (before they be accused) that they shall be overthrowne, they condemne themselves and so their can remaine no more but their execution behind, you have reason and power enough beside God on your side if yon assist this cause to do it by armes, they shall not so escape Iustice but that shee will tryumph over you God will hinder them from withdrawing them selves from the law and from the example from which he hath refered them, assure your selves that the very consiences of their cheife agents in their Rebellion agatnst the King and Parliament which have faild them in their preteous designes will also faile them

them in bringing them to punishment you must extend it unto all the principall executioners of their design against the King and Parliament, where the intyre execution to the Parliament let them rectify the parmadies that is fallen downe, and suffer them to drive away those plagues and evill cankers of the state, those tyrant of mens spirits and consciences which doth daly induce athousand tyrants in England, would inable our King our Parliment and liberties slaves and and Subjects to strangers

I have heard that the King of *France* this Kings Father when the Marshal *Ancre* died, said that then he began to Raigne, if England deliver his Majesty from these tyrants that have made us a thousand times more like france for the Marshal'd *Ancre*, England will then give his Majesty great reason to say that he begins to live in the resurrection of his state, make speed then to pitten this generous designe, let every one of you both generall and particular that are tru Britaines be ashamed to be prevented, is it possible that of so great a good which cannot be found enough conceived, the execution should be deferred untill the morrow, for my part although *I* am but a Ghost, I have bene as violent an enemy against England as any of them, yet I am very sory for it. and with too late repentance cure it, and I will now withall speed goe to assaile and torment their courages, and consienses, and teare them in peses with continuall feares and terrours, to all my good freinds.

FINIS.

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty. 6

The Humble

PETITION

Of divers hundreds

of the Kings poore Subjects,

Afflicted with that grievous Infirmitie,

CALLED

The Kings Evill.

Of which by his Majeſties abſence they have no poſsibility of being cured, wanting all meanes to gaine acceſſe to his Majeſty, by reaſon of His abode at OXFORD.

London, Printed for *John Wilkinſon*.

Febr. 20. *Anno Dom.* 1643.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble

PETITION

Of the KINGS poore Subiects.

Mixed with bitternes and teares.

CALLED

The Kings Evill.

Of which by his Majesties absence they have no possibility of obtaining cure as now is

of His Gracious Touche at OXFORD.

London, Printed for John Wilkinson.
Feb. 20. Anno Dom. 1643.

THE Humble *Petition* of divers hundreds of the Kings poore Subjects, afflicted with that grievous Infirmitie, CALLED *The Kings Evill.*

WHereas divers of your Majesties loving and faithfull Subjects in great and considerable numbers, not onely in and about the City of *London*, and the suburbs thereof, but also in all parts of your Majesties Dominions, are oppressed with that grievous and afflicting Maladie, called *The Kings Evill*, which, as it is proper onely to our *English* Nation, is curable by the Kings of *England*, no Soveraigne of any Kingdome else having that miraculous medicinall vertue infused upon them, but onely the Monarchs of this Nation, to whose sacred hands, as it appeares, both by example and History, this healing propertie is circumscribed and confined ever since that holy King of famous memory, *Edward* the Confessor, by the vertuall contact and imposition of his hands upon a party afflicted with that tumorous and insufferable disease asswaged the present paine, and afterward remitting the said afflicted person to the hands of his Physitians and Chirurgions, who finishing that worke which the good King had begun, gave a perfect cure to the said contagious and hideous Maladie; ever since which time, as the Crowne hath descended upon his successors from *William* the Con-

querour, to your sacred Majestie, so hath that said healing vertue likewise hereditarily descended upon all his successors even to your most excellent Majesty, who have also as well as the most religious and holy of all your predecessors, given sufficient and luculent testimonies of your royall abilities that way, in the cure of that noysome and contagious disease. Your Majesty, like the good *Samaritan*, powring in oyle and balme into the wounds of those wretched persons that have long time desperately laine and languished even to death of that miraculous and supernaturall evill, the cure of which is ore of the greatest of your royall Majesties prerogatives, which no force can deprive your Highnesse of, nor no humane mean hath power to annihilate; the rest of the Princely attributes hereditary to this Crowne of *England*, and its regall possessors, being subject to humane casualties, and dying with the possessors, this blessed cure being progressive, and like fame increasing by succession; so that there is no one happinesse which the subject of *England* possesseth in their Soveraigne of so much value to them as this is, which is freely and charitably imparted to them, to the great comfort & saving of the healths, lives and limbs of many thoulands of your Majesties poore subjects, impossibilited of being cured by any other means then the contaction and imposition of your Majesties sacred hands.

But, Oh the extremity of our griefes, the hideous and inexpressive nature of our sufferings, since your Majesties sad and lamented departure from these parts, many hundreds of us poore diseased wretches, diseased beyond any cure, but what must proceed from the touch of your royall fingers, which we now cannot enjoy, being enforced to lie and perish amidst our miseries, all physicall helps being as vaine and useless in the remedy of our Malady, as if it were applyed to a Leprosie, or that immediate scourge of God, the Plague of Pestilence; so that distracted with so many calamities and afflicting torments, macerating and dilacerating our bodies, wee are enforced to cry out with the Psalmist, *Lord, thou art*

wonderfull

wonderfull in all thy judgements, Oh heale the bones which thou haſt broken; for, ſince your Majeſties deſertion of the City of *London*, whither we poore wretches uſed to repaire at the feaſt of Eaſter, to receive redreſſe for our infirmities, and thankes be to Heaven and your Majeſties charity, have had perfect cure of our diſeaſes, wee know not how to have acceſſe to your ſacred preſence, in the ſight of which depends onely our happineſſe? And now, as *Naaman* the *Aſſyrian*, the hope of whoſe health could no way be intimated unto him in the Provinces of *Benadad*, or amongſt all the Phyſitians of *Damaſco*, but was referred to the help of the great Prophet *Eliſha*; ſo does our expectations of ſoundneſſe and recovery depend on the healing vertue of your Excellent Majeſty, who, like that Prophet, muſt command us to waſh and be cleane.

Mercy is the beſt attribute of Princes, and charity the beſt worke of mercy; amongſt which, none can be ſo excellent, or of ſuch admirable vertue as this of your healing the ſick, a command which God himſelfe impoſeth on all men, and takes as a ſervice done to himſelfe; and ſurely the greatneſſe of cures augments the greatneſſe of the charity, none can be of more value then the cure imployed by your Majeſty upon us, who languiſh under the moſt grievous and noyſome of all diſeaſes: no one part of our whole bodies, but by the paines of that part which is infected, ſuffering extremities of grievances, ſuch as no tongue can expreſſe, no thought imagine, but theirs who have had proofe and teſtimony of the miſerableneſſe of our calamities.

For, let your ſacred Majeſty but take into your gracious conſideration the exceſſive affliction which can fall upon a body by a diſeaſe, for which no cure can be found in phyſicke, it being ſaid as *Ovid* ſaid of love;

Hei mihi quod nullis amor eſt medicabilis herbis.

Your Majeſty being onely the centre of our happineſſe, the very baſis on which we muſt fix the foundation of our hoped for welfares.

And though we have (some of us perhaps) sufficient estates, and are in ample manner blessed with Gods benefits, yet what felicity can we possible take in any of them, in the society of our parents, friends and allies, when we are inhibited by the imbecillities of our bodies, the fruition of those blessings which are so coveted of all mortall men, we indeed possessing, as it were, our soules without our bodies in this absence of your sacred Majesty, who can onely conjoyne them together, and render us as our Saviour did the man whom he bade *Take up thy bed, and walke in perfect condition of soundnesse*. Your Majesty hath been famed (and not without cause) for a Prince of unpatterned piety and goodnesse; and surely you cannot have apter objects to imploy your royall commiseration upon, then our selves.

Naturall diseases we all know, admit of naturall cures, and there want not Physitians, who by the help of cooling Julips, potions and glisters can kill those (which have killed so many men.) Feavers, and diseases of that hot and pestilentiall nature, Apoplexes, Catarhs, and other cold diseases, are easily rectified by their contrarieties. In fine, all maladies may have a remedy by physick but ours, which proceeding from unknowne mysterious causes, claime onely that supernaturall meanes of cure which is inherent in your sacred Majesty, and which the goodnesse of your predecessors and your owne innated lenity hath never denyed to any of your suppliant subjects; why then should wee, who now for the present suffer and languish under the tyranny of this killing *Evill*, have a greater severity used towards us then any that have been afflicted with it in the precedent ages.

Our loyalties we are confident are as firme to your sacred Majesty as theirs, who formerly have injoyed this heavenly and healing benefit; and though the transgression and iniquity of times (which we forbeare to meddle with, having enough to reflect and and consider our owne miseries) have merited your royall displeasure. Your native and hereditary Justice cannot inflict a punishment on us for the guilt of

others,

others, who, had wee as able bodies as wee have soules, to doe your Majesty service, wee would as willingly expose them to all dangers in the demonstration of our dutie to your Highnesse, as we would receive health from your Majesties charitable bountie.

And surely, wee of all others, who have suffered under the burthen of those calamitous times have most cause to bewaile the cruelty and misfortune some have suffered; 'tis true, the losse and rapine of their estates, others have undergone the forfeiture of their lives in these so lamented domesticke wars, and yet none of their afflictions can equall ours; they suffering at once a temporary paine, in a sudden violent death, when wee endure a thousand deaths, dying every day, alive, and every minute halt to a new and cruell death; and although the want of your Majesties royall presence, whose healing medicinall vertue only hath the power to recover us to soundnesse, as the Sonnes infusive and illustrious beames hath onely power to strike day out of night, light out of darknesse.

In conclusion of which, our hideous grievances, that like fires in overgrowne Cities increase by meeting fresh water to supply them, our bodies repleat with grosse humiors administring a daily supplement to the rapacity of our disease. In consideration that we are Christians, your Majesties loyall and most obedient vassalls: in consideration that wee are flesh and blood, which naturally covets remedy for corporall paines and sicknesses, wee most humbly beseech your Majesty to take our cause into your Princely compassion, and out of the tender bowels of your royall mercy which hath so frequently beene extended to others, to shew some of that pitie upon us. Some of us afflicted with this disease, are young men and women in the prime of our youths, who may hereafter live to doe your Majesty good service in demonstration of our thankfulnesse: some likewise are parents that have wife and children depending on our cares and endevours, who must necessarily be exposed to all the miseries of

want.

want and neceſſities, whileſt wee diſinabled by the rancour of our diſeaſe can afford them no helpe nor ſuccours ſome of us are infants, whoſe innocence may claime the privi-ledge of your royall charity and aſſiſtance.

To conclude, all of us are a ſort of miſerable undone wretches, who are nothing without the ſudden expreſſion of your gracious favour towards us, which wee can no way enjoy, unleſſe your ſacred Majeſtie be pleaſed to conſigne ſome way whereby wee may be enabled to approach your royall preſence, which we can no way doe, ſo long as your Majeſtie reſides at *Oxford*, invironed with ſo many legions of ſouldiers, who will be apt to hinder our acceſſe to your Court and Princely Perſon, which others that have formerly laboured with our Malady have ſo freely enjoyed at *London* when you were reſident at your Palace at *White-hall*, where we all wiſh your Majeſtie, as well for the cure of our infirmitie, as for the recovery of the State, which hath languiſhed of a tedious ſickneſſe ſince your Highneſſe departure from thence, and can no more be cured of its infirmitie then wee, till your gracious returne thither, which, that it may the ſooner be effected, wee your Majeſties loyall Subjects and humble Petitioners, ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

FINIS.

A RELATION OF THE TAKING OF CICESTER IN THE COVNTY OF GLOCESTER,

On Thursday, *Febru.* 2. 1642.

By 7000. of the Cavaliers, under the command of Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, the Earles of *Northampton*, *Carnarvon*, *Denbigh*, and *Cleveland*, the Lord *Digby*, Lord *Andevour*, Lord *Wentworth*, Lord *Taffe*, Lord *Dillon*, Lieutenant Generall *Willmot*, Sir *John Byron*, Colonell *Gerrard*, Colonell *Kyrke*, Colonell *Dutton*, and Captaine *Legge*, and divers others.

Sent to a friend in *London*, by one who was present at, and some dayes after the taking of it.

Published because of the many false reports that were in Print concerning that businesse.

Printed at *London*, 1642.

A Relation of the taking of CICESTER, in the County of *GLOCESTER*, on Thurſday, *February* 2. 1642.

SIR,

I Shall indeavour to give you a briefe and true account of the ſtate of the miſerable Towne of *Ciceſter*, in the County of *Gloceſter*, from the firſt troubles to the taking of it, and doe requeſt you to acquaint thoſe Parliament men you have intereſt in, what we have ſuffered for deſiring to ſtand and fall with them; not doubting but they will ſo relent our ſufferings, that they will expedite ſuch ſuccours into our County, as may relieve *Gloceſter*, and procure ſome little refreſhment to the poore Towne of *Ciceſter*, and our waſted County adjoyning.

Our greateſt enemies from the firſt have beene our owne *Countreymen*, our firſt troubles beganne about *Auguſt* laſt, when the Lord *Chandoys* (having accepted from the Parliament the charge of being Lord Lieutenant of our County, and betraying both his Countrey and his truſt) attempted to execute the Commiſſion of Array, and to that purpoſe ſummoned all the Gentry of our County to meete his Lordſhip at *Ciceſter*, but what entertainment he and his Array-men had there, I preſume you know, having heard how the Lord *Chandoys* hardly eſcaped from being taken priſoner by the Countrey that roſe in Armes to reſiſt his illegall Commiſſion, and how the next morning after his eſcape, the furious people hewed his Lordſhips Coach in peeces which he had left behinde him, ſo much they abhorred to be betraied to ſlavery by one of their owne Countrey.

Hereupon *Ciceſter*, (though the Townſmen were a meanes to ſave the Lord *Chandoys* life, who elſe might have beene torne in peeces by ſome of the inraged Countrey people) was much threatned with fire and ſword, and indeed ſo was the whole Countrey for reſiſting the

Commiſ-

Commission of Array; and it was thought fit by the Deputy Lieutenants of our County, that a Garrison should be kept in *Cicester*, it being alwayes feared that that Towne would be the first attempted in the County of *Gloucester*.

Thus we continued in Armes, not doing or suffering much till *January*, onely the Cavaliers, when they came within twelve miles of us to *Burford*, were twice beaten out of their Quarters there, by some parties that went out from our Garrison of *Cicester*, we being very impatient of such bad neighbours.

On Saturday, the last of *December*, the Lord Marquesse *Hartford*, with his Welsh Regiments, and Sir *John Beaumont* with his forces came up from *Worcester* to the Towne of *Stow* in our County, and on Tuesday following marched thence to *Burford*, where finding his entertainment scanty, his Lordship presently repaired to the King at *Oxford*, and there advised his Majesty, that unlesse he might have contribution and Quarter for his Army in *Gloucestershire* and *Wiltshire*, (which he affirmed would never be had till the Town of *Cicester* was taken) they could not long subsist, the stores of all places (where they were masters) being neare spent and exhausted. His Lordship also, with much confidence, offered his Majesty that he would take the Towne, if he might be assisted with some great horse and Dragoones: hereupon as he desired, a Commission was granted to him and Prince *Rupert* with two Regiments of horse, and one of Dragoones, and Prince *Maurice* with all his horse and Dragoones was sent to aid him.

In pursuance whereof, his Lordship with his Army, (as some of their owne reported) to the number of 6000. horse and foote, upon Saturday the seventh of *January*, about noone, drew up his Forces almost round about the Towne, and where they made their first stand, they made a pause for above two houres, in which time they onely sent out scouts to view our Guards, & then summoned those in the Town in the name of Marquesse *Hartford*, Lord Generall of those Forces, by a Trumpet, to deliver up the Towne and Armes to his Lordship, upon promise of his Majesties free pardon for all by-gone offences, with assurance of safety of their persons and estates; which if it were refused, no mercy might be expected. Before the first Trumpet was dispatched, a second came in the name of Prince *Rupert*, with the same message in effect; adding onely, That they came to vindicate and maintaine the Kings Rights and Prerogative. The answer returned to both, was the same, and in substance this. *We doe heartily acknowledge and professe our selves to be his Majesties loyall and faithfull Subjects, and shall be ever as ready*

dy with our lives and fortunes to maintaine his just Rights and Prerogatives as they were, or the best of his Majesties Subjects; and as we are so, we ought likewise to enjoy his Majesties peace, and the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of England, *according to the Lawes of the Land, in defence whereof and the true Protestant Religion onely we stand to our Armes, and are resolved with Gods assistance to defend them with our estates and lives.* This answer being returned; the enemy kept their stand on all sides untill it began to grow darke, and then it pleased God of his meere mercy so to discourage them, that they all retreated to their night Quarters in the Villages round about, where they did eate up all the provision of victuall, and spoyled much Corne and Hay. The next morning they onely shewed themselves before the Towne, and so departed without making one shot at it, Prince *Rupert* and his Troopes to *Oxford*, Prince *Maurice* to his Quarters at *Farrington*, and Marquesse *Hertford* and his Forces to *Burford*, and the Villages adjoyning. While they lay before the Towne, our Forces tooke Master *John Villiers* prisoner, who was Brother to the Lord *Grandison*, and Captaine of a company of Dragoones, and is still in prison at *Gloucester*; when they went away they tooke with them all the horses of the Villages round about us, and did threaten a sudden returne with more force, and as much fury and revenge as they could send to us with the best Cannon they could bring.

So we waited a fortnight for the returne of the enemy, who we heard was marched into *Northamptonshire*, and in the meane time our Garrison was increased, and the Towne better fortified on all sides, and we had foure great Iron peeces sent from *Bristoll*, besides two Brasse peeces we had before from *Gloucester*.

On Thursday, *January* 26. a party from *Cicester* of some foure or five hundred great horse and Dragoones, (who were to meete with more strength from *Gloucester* and *Tewkesbury*, marched hence, to besiege *Sudely* Castle, 14. miles from *Cicester*, because it was reported, that certainely strong Malignant party was rising in that part of *Glocestershire*, & it was feared that *Sudely* Castle (the strongest hold in those parts) would become a receptacle both of the Malignants Armes and Treasure.

On Friday, our Forces sate downe before it, and after summons assaulted it, and being reinforced from *Cicester* with 200. choyce Musqueteers, and one Brasse peece, they tooke the Castle by composition.

On Munday being the 30. day of *Jan.* Prince *Rupert* (having the week before fetched a compasse from *Oxford* by *Northamptonshire* and *Warwickshire*, where he plundered some Townes, and tooke away all the Armes and horses of the Country, with which he armed and mount-

ted

ted all his men, except a few Pikes to guard his carriages) appeared before the Castle, and most of his men lay all night on the hills. But in regard there fell that night a great Snow, the Cavaliers rose from before *Sudely*, and the next day being Tuesday, they marched towards *Cicester*, and quartered within seven miles of it, almost round about us. And yet this being knowne to our Forces at *Sudely* Castle (who were the greatest part of our strength) they tarried there, (I will not say by whose neglect it was) till the Towne of *Cicester* was utterly lost.

On Wednesday, *Febru.* 1. the enemy was reinforced with some fresh Troopes from *Oxford*, and two whole Culverings, besides foure small Brasse field peeces, and two Morter peeces; and so on Wednesday night some of them quartered within a mile of the Towne, and gave us Alarm's all that night.

On Thursday morning, *Febru.* 2. they were discovered some two miles from the Towne, where under a hedge they staied some two houres, till all their Forces drew together into one body, from their severall Quarters in the Villages, and so they divided themselves; Prince *Rupert*, and the greatest part of the Army drawing neare the Towne on the West and South part: and the Earle of *Carnarvan*, and his Troops and some other forces, on the North & North part of the Town. About nine or ten of the clocke they came some of them within the command of our Cannon, which plaied at them two or three houres, and often caused them on the West side of the Towne to retreate behinde a little hill, and all that while divers parties of our Musqueteers went out under the shelter of hedges and walls, and skirmisht with the enemy.

About twelve a clocke, two or three Regiments of foote being kept in, and forced on by the horse behinde them, beganne a furious assault on the *Barton*, a great Farme which lay not farre from the Towne Westward, where they were valiantly entertained by some hundred Musqueteers that lay under the Garden wall.

So there continued at the *Barton*, a very hot fight for some two houres, our men lying under the shelter of the wall, notably giving fire at them, within lesse then Musquet shot, and our Cannon being little more off then Musquet shot, all the while furiously playing point blanke on their whole body, which lay in an open rising field. Here the Welshmen were seene to drop downe apace, but still the horsemen behinde them, cried On, on, and drave them forward till they had gotten quite under the Garden wall. But before that, the enemy had fired some Barnes and Ricks of Corne and Hay that lay quite behinde those hundred Musqueteers, so that the enemy being at the wall, and breaking

of

of it downe, and the fire ſo behinde them, that it tooke away all poſſibility of retreating if they ſtaied any longer, and they being ſo few, (and yet as many as could be well ſpared from other Guards) our men were forced out of that worke after two houres valiant reſiſtance of that furious charge of the enemy; during all which time, we loſt but one man, who after the Guard was entred, could not finde his way forth through the fire and ſmoake.

Our men retreating to the ſecond worke, which was hard by, being ſo hotly purſued by the enemy, fire and ſmoake, which the wind drave directly upon them; they and the Guards of that worke without any reſiſtance made, very diſorderly fled into the Towne, and were furiouſly purſued by the enemy, who without quarter killed thoſe they met withall or overtooke: which ſo deſperately inraged our men, that in the Market place, and from windowes they ſhot at the enemy almoſt an houre together, purpoſing to ſell their lives and liberties as deare as deare as they could.

Whilſt the enemy was aſſaulting the Towne on the Weſt ſide at the *Barton*, The Earle of *Carnarvon* and his Forces, ſeeing the *Barton* fired, and our men beaten from their workes, ſought to enter it on the North ſide, where there was a ſore charge valiantly received by our men with little loſſe, who yeelded not, till the enemy, who had entred the Town on the other ſide, was on their backs. Thus about foure of the clocke the Towne was wholly wonne, and ſhooting was ended on all ſides, and then they tooke priſoners, and fell to plundering that night, al the next day, and on Saturday, wherein they ſhewed all the barbarous inſolencie of a prevailing enemy, and I am confident, they (it ſeemes being grown more skilfull in miſchief) not only acted over, but out-did their former cruelties and ſpoyle of *Braineford* and *Marleborough*; they ſpared not to plunder their beſt friends, for I can aſſure you, ſome of the notorious Malignants was the moſt notably plundered of all the Towne.

I tremble to write of their Blaſphemies, they tauntingly asked ſome godly people, Where is now your God (you Roundhead rogues?) you praied to the Lord to deliver you, and you ſee how he hath delivered you, yee Rebels, &c.

The number that the enemy loſt, is altogether unknowne, by reaſon none durſt goe forth to ſee the ſlaine. Of the Town forces, both townſmen and Countreymen, there were not above twenty kill'd as can yet be learn'd. It is much feared they ſlew a very godly Miniſter, who was ſeene taken by them, and yet cannot be heard of. There lay ſome of our

men

men naked foure daies after they were killed, neare the place where the enemy after the taking of the Towne kept his outmoſt Guard, and none durſt bury them.

The number of Priſoners that they tooke and carried to *Oxford* was betwixt eleven and twelve hundred, amongſt which there were ſome Gentlemen of eminent eſtates and affections to their Countrey. Two very godly Miniſters, divers Commanders, and others, which were very religious and of good account.

They ſtript many of the priſoners, moſt of them of their outmoſt garments. They were all turned that night into the Church, and though many of them were wounded and weary, yet their friends were not ſuffered to bring them a cup of water into the Church that night, but what they thruſt in at the backſide of the Church, having broken the windowes; and the like cruelty I heare was ſhewed unto them when they lay in *Witney* Church, in their paſſage to *Oxford*.

They tied all the priſoners, Gentlemen, Miniſters, and all in Ropes, and made them all goe afoote through the dirt in the ſtreetes and way to *Oxford*, which in regard of the many horſes, was up to their knees ſometimes, and in this manner they uſed a very worthy Gentleman, who had beene very lately high Sheriffe of our County, an aged Gentleman, of an infirme health, though of an undaunted courage in this cauſe.

They ſhamefully abuſed the two Miniſters, reproachfully imitating their manner of preaching, &c.

The Captaine who tooke the Miniſters, upon the earneſt ſolicitation of their friends for their releaſment, promiſed them that for fifty or ſixty pounds apeece he would releaſe them: which money being procured and paid them, He ſcoffingly anſwered, that they might well pay as much more to him for not killing them, as he might have done, and they deſerved; and ſo after that they were more ſtraitly impriſoned, and worſe uſed, and one of their friends that had a free paſſe promiſed him into the Towne with the money, had very much adoe to eſcape killing and impriſoning.

We loſt five peeces of Cannon, neare upon 1200. Muſquets, and other Armes, 14. Colours, and ſome Ammunition, for moſt of our Powder and Bullet was ſent unto them before they entred the Towne.

The value of the Pillage of the Towne is uncertaine, but very great, to the utter ruine of many hundred families, and beſides the burning of ſome particular mens houſes, which were purpoſely ſet on fire after the Towne was wonne. The *Barton* Farme with very much buildings

in

in it, and all the Corne, Hay, and other goods and Cattle of one Gentlemans, which amounted to 3000. pounds and upwards, was burnt to the ground.

On Friday they went into the Countrey, and tooke away all the Horſes, Sheepe, Oxen, and other Cattle of the well-affected that inhabited neare *Ciceſter*.

On Saturday, *Febru.* 4. they tooke away Cloth, Wooll, and Yarne, beſides other goods from the Clothiers, about *Stroudwater*, to the utter undoing, not onely of them and theirs, but of thouſands of poore people, whoſe very livelihood depend on that trade.

Now Sir, before I cloſe up all, I ſhall give you a hint of what I conceive, beſides our ſinnes, concurred with the irreſiſtible will of God, to haſten our ruine.

1. The want of our Horſe, which made them confidently brave our men at their very workes, as alſo the want of Cannoneers, which were at *Sudely* Caſtle.

2. The ſlow raiſing of monies out of the Countrey, which made ſome of our men, for lacke of pay, to depart the Towne, and left many of the reſt heartleſſe, and our workes but thinly manned.

3. The treachery of our Malignant Gentry round about us, who conſtantly gave the enemy intelligence, and entertainment in their houſes, made proviſion for their Armies, and ſome of them appeared in Armes before their neighbour Towne, which they could induce to ſee both fired and ſpoyled.

It is Ordered this eighteenth day of February 1642. *by the Committee of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, that this Booke intituled* A Relation of the taking of Ciceſter, *be Printed by* Michael Sparke *ſenior*.

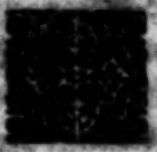
John White.

FINIS.

8

The Best NEVVES That ever was PRINTED.

1. *Prince* Ruperts *resolution to bee gone to his Mother who hath sent for him.*
2. *His Majesties Royall intentions declared to joyne with the Parliament in a treaty for peace.*
3. *The particulars of the high Court of Parliament drawn up to be sent to his Majesty for peace.*
4. *Directions from the Lords and Commons, directed to the Commanders for the ordering of the Army.*



London, Printed for *I. A.* 1643.

NEWES

That ever was

PRINTED.

1. Prince Rupert's relation to be sent to his Majesty
who hath sent for him.
2. His Majesties Royal intentions declared to joyne
with the Parliament in a treaty for peace.
3. The petitioners of the high Court of Parliament
drawn up to be sent to his Majesty for peace.
4. Directions from the Lords and Commons, directed
to the Commanders for the ordering of the Army.

BRITISH MUSEUM

London, Printed for I. A. 1643.

Prince RUPERTS *Resolution to be gone to his Mother who hath gone for him.*

WE do in the presence of Almighty God, and to all the whole world, and in the sight of all good men, in no manner approve, allow, give consent, or any way countenance the unjust and unruly actions of my Sonne Prince *Rupert* now in *England*; and so do I the same with the Queene, my deare mother; by the same vow dislike and hate all those courages and cruelties of my brother Prince *Rupert*, and it-

grieves us at our very Soules for his unhumane cruelties we heare he commits, whose passion we cannot comfort, [illegible] spirit we cannot [illegible] acting, by the [illegible] ufed, as by Letters, Messages, and intimate friends.

And our petition and desire is to the honorable Houses of Parliament, that our annuall pensions may be duely payd us, which is our chiefest lively-hood under God, and that we may not suffer and perish for his sake, whose actions and behaviour we cannot helpe. Hoping that both Houses of Parliament will speedily consider of our petition which we have sent unto them, having continually found that succour from this Kingdome of England for their reall love in our distresse, that we are bound to assist you and your Nation both with our prayers & thanks which is acceptable and best pleasing to God, and [illegible] and for my particular I take God to witnesse so long as I was in England with His Majesty

Majesty, I labored for peace, and a Reconciliation betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, but finding that I could not prevaile, but I was over borne by a strong faction who had his Majesties eare, I took my leave, and went for Holland, obeying and hearkning unto my mothers counsell, whom I shall willingly obey and abide with.

Prince Rupert began to declare his resolution to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the rest of the Nobles, attending upon his Royal person, which was to this effect.

That he had information by letters from Holland, that his Royall mother was much discontented and troubled in minde for his residence here in England, and was very desirous that he should take leave of his Royall Uncle the King of England, and to goe to Holland to her, whereby shee might impart her mind unto him, he being willing to fulfill his mothers desires, and for by for his first coming over, declared his resolution to his Majesty that he was now resolved to leave England, desiring his Majesty not to be displeased thereat; and that according to the utmost of his power, hee would endeavour to serve over such able Commander, as should finish what he had begun.

His

His Majesties Royall intentions declared to joyne with the Parliament in a treaty of Peace.

WE will not repeate what meanes we have used to prevent the dangerous, and distracted estate of the Kingdome, nor how those meanes have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of bloud, we are willing to decline all memory of former bitternesse that might make our offer of a treaty lesse readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our houses of Parliament traytours, or set up our Standard against them, We utterly protest against it before God and the world, and further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the treaty so much desired by us: we hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you, for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as traytours, or otherwise for assisting of us. We shall with all chearfullnesse upon the same day recall our Proclamations, and Declarations, and take down our Standard. In which treaty, we shall be ready to grant any thing, that shall be really for the good of Our Subjects, conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our offers We have declared Our self to do: And assuring you that Our chiefe desire in this world, is to beget a good understanding, and mutuall confidence betwixt Us, and Our two Houses of Parliament.

The

The particulers of the high Court of Parliament drawne up to be sent to his Majesty for peace.

THe House of Commons spent much time in debating upon His Majesties Propositions lately sent to the House concerning an Accommodation, there being usually in the House at this debate at least two hundred of the Members, besides many there be which are imployed upon speciall service of the Kingdome in severall Countreys by which it appeares that the Parliament are not so few in number as some disaffected persons do report they are: and at last it was voted to this effect, viz.

1. *That there should bee a speedy disbanding of both Armies.*
2. *That the Armies in the Northern and Western Counties and Garrisons there, shall be disbanded by the first of May.*
3. *That the Armies at Oxford, Redding, Windsore, and the Garrisons, bee disbanded by the tenth of April.*
4. *That Messengers bee sent to the King, to treat of the time and manner of disbanding, and that a cessation of*

armes

armes shall be assented unto interfering with the dischar[illegible]

5. To presently after the dischardging of [illegible] a committee shall bee sent to attend His Majesty with humble Treaty to give him satisfaction concerning the Propositions sent to them from the King, and likewise Propositions which were presented from the Parliament to His Majesty.

An Order of the Lords and Commons for the Ease of the Souldiers in the Armies.

WHereas there have been divers complaints made unto us of many disorders committed by the souldiers, in their marching, and in such places where in they have been quartered and billeted, which disorders (as is informed) have beene partly occasioned by the neglect of their Officers to goe along with them? It is therefore ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the Lord Generall shall be desired to give command to all the officers, that they take care to attend, according to the duty of their severall places, that the souldiers thereby may be kept after kept from straggling up and down the Countries. And to that end to lay his command upon the Officers of each Company, both in the marching, quartering and billeting, to bee in person amongst the souldiers to prevent any disorders whatsoever, and punish such as shall offend.

FINIS.

THE BELOVED CITY

OR,

THE SAINTS REIGN ON EARTH A THOVSAND YEARES;

Asserted, and Illustrated from LXV. places of *Holy Scripture*; Besides the judgement of *Holy Learned men*, both at home and abroad: and also *Reason* it selfe.

Likewise xxxv. *Objections* against this *Truth* are here answered.

Written in *Latine* by *Ioan. Henr. Alstedius*, *Professor* of the University at *Herborne*.

Faithfully Englished; With some occasionall Notes. And the Judgement herein [not onely of *Tycho Brahe*, and *Caro[illegible]illus*; but also] of some of our owne famous *Divines*.

Si aqua frangulat, quid insuper bibendum est?
M. Antonin. Imp. τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν, Lib. 4. Sect. 27.

Ἐκεῖνο μὲν φησι, Πόλις φίλη Κέκροπος· σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς, Πόλις φίλη Διός;

Could he say of *Athens*, Thou lovely City of Cecrops? And I shall not thou say of the CHVRCH OF CHRIST, Thou *Lovely City of* GOD? *Apoc. 22. 9.*

LONDON,
Printed in the yeare of the last expectation of the SAINTS.
CIↃ. IↃC. XLIII.

To the Right VVorshipfull, Sir *Iohn Cordwell* Knight, and Alderman, Master of the Company of the Mercers;

Mr. Lybbe Chapman ——— Surveyor.
Captaine *Thomas Chambrelan* } Wardens.
Mr. George Burrish }

And to the Worshipfull, the Assistants and Communalty of the same Antient and flourishing Society of MERCERS in the Famous City of *London*.

RIGHT WORSHIPFVL,

MY ordinary employment, being of late for some time interrupted, and the usuall course of my studies, not so much diverted, as quite stopt by the late generall and miserable distractions of the Kingdome, and especially of the place I live in, I bethought my selfe of some meanes whereby I might mitigate my apprehension of the miseries issuing from these present distempers; When (I thinke God so directing it) this Treatise, with some others of the same nature, came to my hands. The *Author* is of as generall repute among us for learning, as any late Writer we have received from beyond the Seas these many yeares: and the *worke* is an *Explanation* of the xx. *Chapter* of the *Revelation*. The *Subject* thereof is *The Assertion of the Glorious Kingdome of* Christ *here on earth*; a matter no doubtfull great comfort, and consolation to the Church of *God*. And as I am not ignorant that *Apocalypticall Discourses* in generall are liable to many censures, and that this *Divine Prophecy* it selfe is as yet a *sealed book*, in so much that the great *Calvin* was forced to acknowledge, (if the reportes among him not) that the

Io. Bodinus Method Hist. cap. 7

he knew not what so difficult and obscure a Writer, as the Author thereof, meant: so I am sure this part thereof hath beene subject to most divers and contrary interpretations; that what * *Hierome* saith of the whole, may well be said of this passage thereof: *So many words, so many mysteries.* Yet receiving my selfe much satisfaction and settlednesse of mind from this *exposition* thereof, I thought that *Gods* people also might reape some benefit and fruit thereby: And this is the maine cause, that I have made it publique. Now that I have inscribed it unto Your *Names* I have deale but right and fully therein. For owing the first grounds and foundation of my studies to Your large bounty and benevolence, I must acknowledge the first fruites thereof communicated abroad (and I indeed I ever intended them so, whatsoever they had been) to be Yours by a due claime and challenge of them. The *Persians* (in whose Schooles *gratitude* was taught, as *Letters* and *Arts* in ours, whose * *Lawes* punished the contrary almost as deepe as wee doe *Homicide*,) had an Order in their * *Colledges*, which were for the education of them whose service was appointed for the *King*, that after their greatest promotions, and abilities in publick attendance, they were to acknowledge all as received from the *Classis* of their first institution. My naturall propension to thankfulnesse makes me confesse I owe all that I am in good letters (I best know how little that is) to the foundation I laid thereof in Your excellent Seminary of learning, and to your extraordinary favour, and encouragement to good studies and endeavours. I pray *God* lead You alwaies along by the hand in all Your affaires and occasions.

I am

Your very respectfull servant to be commanded,

William Burton.

Epist. ad Paulinum. *Quot habet verba, tot Sacramenta.*

* *Dicitur exuperavit laus contra ingratos legē.* Amm. Marcell. lib. 23.

Ἡ παρὰ Περσῶν νόμῳ δίκαιος ἀντιτιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὐχαριστία. Themist. Orat. 3.

* Xenophon Κύρου παιδείας, a.

To thoſe who ſhall light upon this Booke.

TO prefix a word or two, by way of preface, may concerne thee, Reader, perhaps as well as my ſelfe: That I might not therefore be cenſured for the onely idle perſon in theſe buſie times, in which (GOD in Mercy looke upon us!) every man, either with his Sword, or Pen, ſtrives to make the noiſe and tumult greater, I have thruſt out this booke into the publique, in the generall crowd of thoſe many: but with expectation of a better bleſſing, I hope, from God, then ſome of them can looke for.

* * *

And

And although I am not ignorant, that there are a generation of men in the world, *quibus artium* abaster *unguentis plenus patere videtur*, as he said well, having their understanding corrupted by their Lucy, can relish and judge aright of nothing; yet so arrogant, and self-conceited, that they censure and exterminate all learning and knowledge, (which suiteth not just with their owne fanatique humours,) with farre more superstition then ever *Plato* ejected *Homer* out of his Common-wealth: (*Sed quid suibus cum amaracino?* They love the mire best:) Notwithstanding all this, I say, the generall welcome and long entertainment, which the other learned workes of this same *Author* have had in our *Schooles*, as well as in those beyond the Seas, where he professed with admirable applause, seemed to me not to deny this piece an *endenizing*, or freedome, from some hands of *a better note*. Yet perhaps, if thou hadst any acquaintance with me, thou wouldst wonder to see a subject of this nature to come forth into the *light of learned men* by my meanes, and assistance.

Cic. Academ. Lucull. 2.

True it is, I have under my command some *Discourses*, I will not say of greater consequence, but I dare say, that cost me greater labour, and longer enqoiry, to which these times doe deny a propitious birth. And having lost almost my employment for the time, through the present distractions; and my bookes and I being in a manner quite severed from one another, I thought I could doe nothing better by way of lessning my apprehension of these publique calamities, which *Gods* justice, and our owne

owne unthankfulneſſe, by repining at his Mercies, have brought upon us.

I had no intent hereby to impoſe upon any one, or abuſe mens beliefe, by forcing their aſſent to an *Hereſie*, condemned in the *Church*, as ſome would perſwade us, ſo many ages agoe. Yet I know well enough, that nothing pleaſeth the fancy, and feedeth the humour of this age ſo much, as *novelties*; men no leſſe inquiring now after new *Doctrines* and *opinions*, then of old the *Athenians* did after new *Deities*. Ὅτι μὲν ὑμῖν must I ſay to theſe; I took not this paines for them.

Acts xvii. 18, 19.

Liv. de libris Heraclid. Anthol. lib. 3. cap. 31.

Neither indeed do I my ſelfe goe about to aſſert, or maintaine any un-grounded Doctrine, knowing well, that *opinion*, that *Holy Diſeaſe*, how great ſoever her ſcowrers, and abetters are, can never be able to ſtand in competition with the holy Word of *God*, and the *ſound* and undeniable doctrine thereof.

Such is alwaies my temper and moderation, that if by * due conviction thou demonſtrate my error, (much more if the *CHURCH* ſhall interpoſe her judgement,) whether it be in matter of *opinion* or *action*, I will retract the one, and relinquiſh the other. And till thou doſt this in the matter, which we have in hand, be not offended, if I ſtand cloſe by my *Author*, but eſpecially to reaſon, and plaine Scripture it ſelfe alleaged by him. Truth it is the onely thing I ſeeke after, for the purſuit of which, no man ought to be blamed any more, then they are to be excuſed, who willfully continue in known error, and ignorance.

* Εἰ δέ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἐξ, ἃ συγγράφω μοι, ὅτι ἐν ὑβρεῖ ὑπολαμβάνω, ἢ μέγαν, δυναστικὸν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζητοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἐλέγχειν μοι τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐκείνοις ἀντιγράφειν. Ἀθανασίου λόγος πρὸς τοὺς λαοὺς κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν. p. 3.

lib. 6 §. 20.

By the way then, good Reader, let me tell thee, (what credit ſoever I gaine from thee,) that it was the conſtant opinion of the Church, in the very next age to the *Apoſtles*, that there ſhould be a *reſurrection* before the generall *riſing* at the laſt day, and an happy condition of the faithfull upon earth for 1000. yeeres. This we may learne from [a] *Tertullian*, and [b] *Irenæus*: And [c] *Iuſtin* the *Martyr*, (who of a *Philoſopher* became a *Chriſtian* ſome xxx. yeeres after the death of *John* the *Evangeliſt*, and Penman of this holy *Prophecy*) tells us plainly, that not only himſelfe, but what [d] *Chriſtian* ſoever in his time were in all reſpects *Orthodox*, maintained the ſame, grounding their opinion upon theſe words of *Eſay*. * *Behold I create new Heavens, and a new Earth: and the former ſhall not be remembred, nor come into my mind. But be glad, and rejoyce for ever in that which I create.* I know not whether ſo great a teſtimony, as this of *Iuſtin Martyrs*, may be brought concerning any opinion among *Chriſtians*, if you expect the maine articles of our *Beleefe*. And the generall conſent of all the *orthodox*, and in the age too next the *Apoſtles*, is no ſmall argument, or prejudice againſt the contrary opinion, or ſucceeding ages. It ſeemed the *Heretiques* of thoſe times, eſpecially, or indeed onely, beleeved it not, and that for ſome private reſpect, becauſe, admitting thereof, they muſt needs alſo confeſſe a reſurrection of the fleſh, and that the ſame *God*, who was mentioned in the *Law* and *Prophets*, is alſo the Father of our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*. I am ſure *Cerinthus*, that *Arch Heretique* in thoſe daies, whom the after-ages do make the firſt [e] broacher

a *Contra Marcion.*

b *Tract. contra omnes hæreſes.*

c Dialog. cum *Tryphone Iudæo.*

d Ἐγὼ δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι κατὰ πάντα ὀρθογνώμονες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, καὶ τὴν σάρκος ἀνάστασιν, &c. *Iuſtin. ad l.* Ἡ σαίας εἶπε τὰ χίλια ἔτη τοῦτο, cap. 65. verſ. 17.

e *Auguſtin. de Hæreſib. cap. 8.*

cher of this opinion (and they would also have him the Author of the *Revelation*,) is never taxed for it by them [f] who have diligently noted his *heresies*. And perhaps if he had any sensuall conceit hereabout, (as it seemes he had) he was beholding to Judaisme for it: and he himselfe being a *Jew*, it was not taken notice of in him. But for a *Christian* to have any such doting imaginations, would render him more wild-headed, and besides himselfe, in sober mens judgements, then any Poet of *Dithyrambique* verse. Yet no man ought to be blamed for maintaining a *Truth* in a *Iewes* company, either in this matter or in any else, if with heed he passe by those grosse fancies, and stupid absurdities, which doe infatuate and blemish the same truth. More deservedly may we finde fault with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and his followers, the great impugners of this opinion, who when about the end of the *third age*, the dispute about it grew very hot, to lessen the authority of the *Revelation*, by the evident and undeniable proofes whereof the matter in question was asserted, (O foule shame, and impiety!) they fathered it upon I know not whom, yet one of the same name, against the manifest witnesse of [b] *Iustin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and all the Fathers before them, who inscrib it to *Iohn*, the beloved Disciple of Christ, and *Evangelist*: Neither can *Hieromes* himselfe be excused, though a very learned man otherwise, but easie to be deceived, who with the same *Dionysius* doth (upon an uncertaine report) falsly affix to the opinion of them, who according to truth beleeved the *thousand yeares* happinesse on earth

[f] *Epiphanius de Hæresib.* *Irenæus.* *Tertullianus.*

[b] Dialog. cum *Tryphone.*

earth, the [1] *injury of Circumciſion, the blood of Sacrifices, and reſtauration of all the ceremonies of the Law*, Which old pieces and rags of *Iudaiſme*, or perhaps the dreames of ſome *Heretiques*, being gathered, out of a ſtudy of contention, and ill will, were patched to this opinion of the *Primitive Church* But if he certainely knew that the firſt *Chriſtians* and holy *Martyrs* did expect Circumciſion, and Sacrifices in the Kingdome of Chriſt, how is he to be blamed, that condemned them not for it, but [k] left every man to the freedome of his owne judgement, either to approve, or diſlike thereof.

[1] *Hierom. in Hierem cap. 19. v. 10.*

[k] *Quæ licet non ſequamur, damnare non poſſumus: unuſquiſque in ſuo ſenſu abundet. Hieron. d. l.*

But what countenance ſoever this opinion hath, or ſhall finde in this age, let me tell thee this one thing, Reader, which I will leave to be conſidered of by thee, that ſeeing there are ſo manifeſt proofes of a glorious Kingdome of the *Saints* here on earth out of the old Teſtament, there will be no better or eaſier way, to deale with the *Iewes* in matter of their converſion, then not to wreſt the plaine prophecies of a ſecond and glorious appearance of Chriſt, to his firſt comming; but rather to perſwade them, that they muſt expect no other *Meſſias*, who ſhould fulfill all theſe promiſes, expecting what is to be expected, (for we are not herein wholly to agree with the *Iewes*, but to examine all things according to the rules of *Chriſtian faith*,) beſides that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom their Anceſtors crucified. And this way is every where almoſt through the whole *Revelation* diligently inſiſted upon. For whilſt we force thoſe moſt cleare prophecies concerning things promiſed in the ſecond, to his firſt comming,

the

the *Iewes* scorne and deride us, and are more and more confirmed in their infidelity. But for the cours which I have here set downe, I am much mistaken if it be not the same which was observed among them by *Peter* himselfe, *Act.* 3. 19. 20, 21. *Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the* times of refreshing *shall come from the presence of the* Lord, *and he shall send* Jesus Christ, *which before was preached unto you. Whom the Heaven must receive, until the* times of restitution of all things, *which* God *hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy* Prophets *since the world began.*

But I forget my selfe; For indeed I thinke it more fit to set downe and publish, what might be safely and piously believed concerning this *Tenet*, rather in another mans sense and expressions, then in mine owne, being more willing [1] modestly to learne and be instructed from the abilities of others, then impudently to obtrude mine owne weaknesses upon the world. And to this end I have also collected what some of the most eminent *Diuines* of the Church of *England*, Dr. *Hakewill*, Dr. *Twisse*, Mr. *Mede*, &c. (that thou mightest not thinke it onely an outlandish toy, or a fancy of yesterday, vnsauoury sauouring of Popery,) have thought, and published concerning this opinion. Besides, the irrefragable judgement of the Diuine *Tycho Brahe*, that singular ornament both of the *Heauens*, and his owne *Denmarke*, and with him the termination herein of *Carolus Gallus*, omitted by *Alsted*, and not long agoe one of the *States* Professors of Diuinity in their Vniuersity of *Leyden*.

[1] *Malim aliena verecundè discere, quam sua impudenter ingerere.* Hieron. de Planis Epist. ad Paulinam.

If

If thou finde any discrepancy in their resolutions about this matter, perswade thy selfe, that time, and the holy *Spirit* will more and more enlighten the deepe mysteries of *Gods* word, and of its unspeakable goodnesse to the *Saints* of God, will yet in these latter times make us all of one heart, and one mind in *Christ Iesus*; *That all we that doe confesse his holy Name, may agree in the truth of his holy Word, and live in unity and godly love*; which is the prayer of our *Church*. In the meane time, good Reader, consider that it is as lawfull for men, yea for good *Christians* themselves, to differ in circumstances of opinions, as it is requisite and seemely, that they should grow up together, like [m] fellow branches, in matter of good correspondence, and affection. *Farewell.*

[m] Θ'μοδαμνᾶν, μὲν, μὴ ἁμοδοσματεῖν δέ. *Anton. lib. xi. §6.*

SCRIB.

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To the Christian Reader.

THere are three things necessary for him, who takes upon him to expound Prophecies published by the Holy Ghost. And first, truely the light and Grace of the holy Spirit is requisite. For seeing that Prophecie proceedeth from the holy Spirit, It is necessary that by the same also it should be expounded. Next, A pious and diligent reading of Prophecies, and conferring them one with another, much avayleth hereunto. Lastly, The fulfilling of any Prophecie, and an experience in a manner thereof, is as it were the Key, with which it is unlockt, and opened. Wherefore that saying of Irenæus is true: Every Prophecy before it is fulfill'd is a Riddle. But when it is fulfill'd, it hath a plain exposition, and understanding of it self. These three things, as in all holy Prophecies, so in the Divine Revelation, may be joyned together, and namely in this piece thereof, which now according to my Ability I am about to Illustrate, and at this day too, Wherein to the light of the Gospel there is added a great Catastrophe, or Issue, of many things foretold by God himself; except indeed any one happily chance to be bewitched with a prejudicate opinion. Let us set sail therefore in the Name of God, and comfort the desolation of Germany with this pious meditation.

Lib. 4 cap. 43 Omnis Prophetia priusquam impleatur ænigma est. Quando impleto fuerit, manifestam habet expositionem & intelligentiam.

Revelation, *Chap.* 20.

AND I saw an Angel come down from heaven, having the Key of the bottomelesse pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2. And he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the devill and Satan, and bound him a thousand yeers.

3. And cast him into the bottomelesse pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the Nations no more, till the thousand yeers should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4. And I saw thrones, and they sate upon them, and judgement was given unto them: And I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witnesse of Jesus, and for the Word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand yeers.

5. But the rest of the dead lived not again untill the thousand yeers were finished. This is the first resurrection.

6. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be Priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand yeers.

7. And when the thousand yeers are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8. And shall goe out to deceive the Nations, which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battell: the number of whom is as the sand of the Sea.

9. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the campe of the Saints about, and the beloved Citie: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10. And the devill that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false Prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

11. And I saw a great white Throne, and him that sate on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

11. And

12. *And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the Book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.*

13. *And the sea gave up the dead which were in it: and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.*

14. *And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: this is the second death.*

15. *And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.*

PROLEGOMENA,
OR
THE PREFACE,
Concerning
The *Author*, and *Subject* of this Chapter, and the *Connexion* thereof, with the foregoing, and following Chapters.

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§ 1. *Of the* Author *of this Chapter.*

THE Principall Author of this Chapter is the same, who is Author of the whole Book, namely *Jesus Christ*; who, as a faithfull Steward of our Salvation, received this Revelation from God the Father, and sent the same by his Angel to *John* the Evangelist, *Revel.* 1. 1. Wherefore the *Principall Author* is the *Spirit* of God; the Minister or Messanger partly the *Angel*, partly *John*, who *Chap.* 1. 1 and 4. setteth down his name

 in

in generall; but a little after in the ninth Verse, restraining that generality, He doth as it were with his finger point at it. *I* John, *your brother, and companion in the affliction, and Kingdom, and patience* * *which is in* Jesus Christ, *was in the Island, which is called* Patmos. The history which *Eusebius* relates, tells us, That *John* the Evangelist, and Apostle, was banished into the Island of *Patmos* by *Domitian*. Whence it is collected, that *John* the Evangelist, and Apostle, was Gods Pen-man in the delivery of this Prophecy; and hence, That the Authority of this Book, and so of this Chapter, which we intend to expound, is *Divine*. Wherefore deservedly, we most highly esteem of this *Revelation*, as a part of Scripture, which hath God for it's *Author*. But especially this Prophecy ought in this respect to be welcome to us, because it contains the last Divine Revelation of Gods will; after which, no Prophecy following is to be expected; and because this Book is very profitable in this Age, in which the lively performance of things hitherto abstruse and concealed, is presented before our eyes.

* *Alford follows that Greek Copy which admits* ἐν *the preposition, otherwise then our English renders it. Eccles. Histor. lib. 3 cap. 16*

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§ 2. *Of the* Subject *of this Chapter.*

THis Chapter discourseth of the singular happinesse of the Church, both under it's *Warfare*, and *Triumph*. The singular happinesse of the Church, during it's warfare, or being *militant*, is set down in three respects; 1. In its security from the hostile incursions of the wicked for a 1000 yeers. 2. In the resurrection of the *Martyrs* before the generall resurrection. 3. In the wonderfull deliverance of the godly, from the last persecution of the wicked, which shall happen after those *thousand* yeers. The happinesse of the Church *Triumphant*, is here described so farre forth, as the beginning of its Triumph in the last *Judgement*. That these things may be made more plain, I will from the very beginning, make a repetition of the state of the Church here upon earth; and I will say something briefly, concerning the State and condition thereof, in *Heaven*. The State of the Church hereupon earth, was either that *before the fall* of the first man, and that was wholly *Legall*; or that *after the fall*, and this is wholly *Evangelicall*. Again, The State of the Church after the fall is, either *Intervall*, and perpetu-

all

all; or *External*, and temporall. The State of the Church *Internall* and perpetuall, consists in the Union and Communion with *Christ*, as also in the enlightning, and guidance of the *Spirit*, *Isa.* 54. 5. *Hos.* 2. 15, 19, 20. *Joh.* 6. 56. 1 *Cor.* 6 17. *Eph.* 5. 30. 1 *Cor.* 10. 17. 2 *Cor.* 11. 2. *Eph.* 3. 6. *Gal.* 3. 28. *Col.* 3. 15. Hence it is, that the Church is one, Holy, and Invincible. The *External*, or temporall State of the Church, is as well under the *Crosse* and Persecution; as *Light* and *Comfort*, or refreshing: which two changes the Church undergoes here on earth by turns, as well under the *Old Testament*, as the *New*, and that either more, or lesse. For *Adam*, and *Eve*, after their most grievous fall, were raised up again by the most sweet promise of the Gospel; and after they had begot *Cain* and *Abel*, and their Sisters, they were comforted with this Infancy, as it were, and first foundation of the Church. But no small grief followed hard upon this joy, when as *Cain* slew his brother *Abel*. However this breach was made up again in *Seth*, whose posterity propagated the Church, although not without grievous persecution by the race of *Cain*, which had an end put unto it by the deluge in the yeer of the world, 1656. From whence the Church was enlarged to the yeer 1757, without any notable persecution, which at that time the building of the Tower of *Babel* brought, and hence sprung the division of Languages. In the yeer of the world 2023, the Church was contracted into the Posterity of *Abraham* only; And here begin the four hundred and thirty yeers, dwelling of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*; where *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, underwent manifold changes both of prosperity, and affliction. And their posterity after the death of *Joseph* was detained under a most horrid slavery, from the yeer of the world, 2360, even to yeer 2453, in which the *Israelites* were brought out of *Egypt*. From which time to the yeer 2493, they had experience of divers blessings and judgements of God in the Wilderness. Now after they were brought into the Land of *Canaan*, which happened in the yeer of the world 2493. *Joshuah* with very good successe, for the six first yeers conquered the Canaanites, vanquishing one and thirty Kings. After the death of *Joshuah*, to the yeer of the world 2879, the *Israelites* were vexed with divers slaveries and persecutions, and rescued from the same by severall Judges,

namely *Deborah*, *Gedeon*, *Samson*, and *Samuel*. And now the Kingly power being eſtabliſhed in the dayes of *Saul*, or yeer 2879, the Church preſently in the very beginning thereof, ſuffered perſecution from *Saul* himſelf. After that it underwent divers chances, and changes; namely, under *David* and *Solomon* it exceedingly flouriſhed; under *Rehoboam* it ſuffered a great loſſe, ten Tribes falling of to *Jeroboam*. By occaſion whereof, a moſt ſad rent of the Kingdom happened, the Church by little and little degenerating in *Iſrael*, whoſe ten Tribes under *Hoſhea* in the yeer of the world, 3228. were led away into a moſt grievous, and yet continuing captivity, as farre as the *Colchi*, *Iberi*, &c. As for the Church remaining in the Kingdom of *Juda*, it had ſeverall entercourſes of deformation, as well as reformation, of calamities, as well as victories, unto the yeer 3350. in which began the *Babylonian* captivity, continuing Lxx yeers. In the yeer 3419, *Cyrus* releaſed this captivity giving the *Jews* free leave to return into their Country, and to eſtabliſh their own Laws, and Religion, as farre as their own Country did reach. But notwithſtanding, this Priviledge of uſing their own Laws, was many wayes interrupted untill the yeer 3527, that is, for 107 yeers. From which time to the yeer 3781. the Church of the *Jews* enjoyed happy, and *Halcyonian* dayes under the *Perſians*; and in like manner under *Alexander* the *Great*. But under the *Succeſſors* of *Alexander*, eſpecially the Kings of *Syria*, they were divers wayes afflicted, untill in the yeer of the world 3783, and ſo downward; the *Maccabees* fought with happy ſucceſſe for their Religion and poſſeſſions. From the yeer 3887. *Judaea* was laid waſt, and ſeverall wayes oppreſſed by the *Romans*, and *Parthians*, ſo that the whole State thereof was exceedingly troubled.

Let us now come to the eſtate of the Church of the *New Teſtament*, which we will divide into *four* periods. The *firſt* period is of the Church of the godly *Jews* in *Judea*, from the time of *John* the *Baptiſt*, to the *Councell of Jeruſalem*; that is, from the yeer of the world 3948. to the fiftieth yeer of *Chriſt*.

In all which ſpace of time, *Chriſt* was born, *Baptiſm* inſtituted, *John* put to death, the twelve *Apoſtles*, and Lxx. *Diſciples* called by *Chriſt*; *Chriſt* himſelf ſuffered, the *Holy Ghoſt* was powred out upon

upon the *Apostles*; the *Apostles* were whipped for their bold preaching of the Doctrine of *Christ*, &c.

The *second* period is, of the Church spread over the whole world, and contains the calling and conversion of most nations, from the 51. yeer of *Christ*, to the beginning of the *thousand yeers*. And this period hath *four* branches.

I. Under the *Heathen Roman Emperours*, till *Constantine* the *Great's* time, wherein the Church was propagated under divers Persecutions, of which, tenne were more notable, from the 64. yeer of Christ, to the 323.

II. Under *Christian Emperours*, from *Constantine* the *Great*, to *Phocas*; in which time, it was adorned with divers priviledges by *Constantine* the *Great*, and other godly Princes: yet so, That notwithstanding it felt great persecutions by the *Arians*, by *Julian*, by the *Persians*, *Vandals*, *Gothes*, &c. to the yeer of *Christ*, 606.

III. Under the *Popes* of *Rome*, while they extended their power farre and wide, from the yeer of *Christ* 606, to the yeer 1517, that is, from *Boniface* the *third*, to *Leo* the *tenth*. In all which time the *Church* was most miserably pressed, and only not quite oppressed, partly by the *Sarazens* and *Turks* in the *East*, partly by the *Popes* of *Rome* in the *West*.

IV. Under the *Popes* of *Rome*, now perceiving an inclination and decay of their Kingdom, from the yeer of *Christ* 1517, to the beginning of the *thousand* yeers. What the condition of the *Church* hath been, and now is, since the yeer 1517, to this present, is known unto us partly from Histories, partly from our own notice, and remembrance. What it shall be hereafter, from the time wherein we write this, to the beginning of the 1000. yeers, we cannot in particular determine. But this we know in generall, That the *Church* is to be purged, purified, and cleansed, by this persecution, which at this day it suffers; That by this means it may be by little and little prepared for that great *Reformation*, which the *Epocha*, or *Account* of those *thousand yeers* shall bring.

The *third* Period of the *Church* of the *New Testament*, is from the beginning of the *thousand yeers*, to the end thereof. And it shall contain, as well the *Martyrs* that shall then rise, as the *Nations* not yet *converted*, and the *Jews*; and it shall be *free from persecutions*.

tions. Which *four* things, because they are called into question, are the more at large to be proved. And first of all, for the *Resurrection of the Martyrs*, The truth thereof is demonstrated * to the eye, in a manner out of the 20 of the *Revelation*, the 5. verse.

* ὀφθαλμοφανῶς.

Then for the *Conversion of the Gentiles*, which are not yet called into the Church, the *Apostle* describeth it most lively, *Rom.* 11. 25. where he plainly teacheth us, That the *fulnesse of the Gentiles* is to be gathered to the Church. Hitherto also appertaineth that which we read *Gen.* 48. 19. that *the seed of* Ephraim *shall become a multitude of Nations.* For it cannot be interpreted of the numerous off-Spring, of *Ephraim*; for therein the Tribe of *Judah* especially excelled. And the word *Gojim* is most properly meant by the *Heathens.* Therefore this is the meaning, *Out of* Ephraim *shall descend innumerable Nations, which in their time shall flow in plentifully to the Gospel.* Moreover, Christ *Luk.* 21. 24. teacheth us that *the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled.* So *Gen.* 17. 4, 5. God promiseth *Abraham*, that he should *become a father of a multitude of Nations*; and *Gen.* 18. 18. *that in him all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed.* To these places you may add, *Psal.* 22. 28. *Matth.* 24. 14. and *Revel.* 12. 5.

גוים
Vide Ioannem Buxtorf. in גוי.

Object. If any one should object, that the *Conversion* of the *Gentiles* was a little after the first coming of *Christ*;

Sol. He must know that at that time all nations were not called. Therefore we must understand a double *Conversion* or calling of the *Gentiles*, a *former*, and a *latter*. The *former* was in the time of the *Apostles*, and their Successors. This *latter* hath not been as yet, but it shall be at length, a little before the Conversion of the *Jews*. So that these *two Conversions* are joyned together, *Isai.* 11. 12. *Zach.* 2. 10, &c. For the maintaining of this opinion see among others, *Justus Heurnius De Legatione Evangelicâ ad Indos capessendâ*, and *Kepler De Stellâ novâ Serpentarii*, where *fol.* 206. he writs, That all the contentions which are at this day among *Christians*, and the difference of their worships, tends to this, That from their mutuall destroying one another, an occasion may arise, on one side of converting the *Indians*, on another of converting the *Jews*, and *Turks*. Now let us enter into consideration of the *conversion* of the *Jews*.

Heurnius.

Keplerus.

The promises thereof, are *Gen.* 49. 18, 19. *Num.* 23. 23. *Deut.* 30. 3, 6, 8. and *chap.* 32. from the 19. to the 43. *Isai.* 11. 11, 12. and *chap.*

chap. 43. 5. and so forward, *chap.* 45. 23, 25. *chap.* 59. 20, 21. *Jere.* 16. 14. *chap.* 23. 3,4. *chap.* 31, 31, 32, 33, 34. *Ezech.* 36. 36. and forward, *Hos.* 1. 11. *chap.* 3, 4, 5. *Mich.* 2. 12. *chap.* 4. 6. and forward, *chap.* 5. 5, 6, 7. *Zeph.* 3. 11, 12, 13, 19, 20. *Amos* 9. 14, 15. *Zach.* 11. 16. *Rom.* 11. 25, 26, 27. 2 *Cor.* 3. 16. *Matth.* 23. 39. *Luk.* 21. 24. The explications of which places, look for in the following questions, and almost every where in the author cited in the *Margine*. And to them adde these two *reasons*; 1. The *Jews* wander to and fro through the whole world dispersed, scattered, and banished from their own ayr and soil. God therefore without doubt reserveth them for some great, and admirable work. 2. *Christ* being born of the *Jews*, he is promised unto them with very many and most glorious promises. Therefore it is not to be beleeved, that they should not at some time or other acknowledge him as the *Messias*. Neither can you object that the *Jews* were converted in the time of *Christ*, and the *Apostles*. For they were but the first fruits of the *Jews*. And that *Conversion* was but in part onely. See concerning this Argument *Justus Heurnius*, in his Book before cited, who handles it most accurately, and is of opinion, that this order shall happen in the *Reconciliation* of the *Jews*. That in the first place those *ten Tribes*, which were carried away by the *Assyrians*, shall be converted, to whom afterwards the Tribes of *Judah*, and *Benjamin* shall joyn themselves. In the same place also he conjectureth very probably, That the converted remainder of the *Jews*, united with the converted Church of the *Heathen*, shall resist the attempts of the adversaries of GOD, and beat down *Antichrist*. Yet I should rather suppose that the *Jews* should entertain the ruine of *Antichrist*, as an occasion of their Conversion. But this nothing to the main matter and substance of the question.

It remains now that I make it plain that this Church, gathered together of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, *shall be freed from the persecutions of their enemies*. This is proved out of *Deut.* 32. 40, 41, 42, 43. *Psal.* 96. *Psal.* 110. 5, 6, 7. *Isai.* 11. 1, 2, 3 4. *chap.* 24. 23. *chap.* 25. *chap.* 26. 1, 2, 3, &c. *chap.* 33. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. *chap.* 34. from the 1 to the 18 *verse*. *chap.* 49. 24, 25, 26. *chap.* 54. 14, 15, 16, 17. *chap.* 59. 16,

Isay. Perus explicat. in Gen. c. 26. 27, & 28. Seraphin. Firmian Enarrat. Apocal cap. 14. Remale de Vaulx. in Harpocrate Divino, fol. 339 Martin Cellar. Tractat. de Operib. Dei Coel. Secund. Curio de Amplitud. Beat. Regni Dei, lib 1. Petr. Cunæus lib 1. de Repub. Iudæor. 18. Just. Heurnius de Legat Evangelica ad Indos c 4. Ioan Dobricius in Apocalypsin, seu Interpretat Temporum, Christoph. Besold in Pentade. Et omnes

Theol. veteres & recentes super 11. cap. Epist. ad Romanos.

17,18,19,20,21. *chap.* 63. 1.2,3,4,5,6. *Dan.* 12.1. *Joel* 3.1,2,9,10, 11,12,13,14. *Micah* 4. the whole Chapter. *Zeph.* 3. from the 9 *ver.* to the end. *Zach.* 11 10. to the 17. *chap.* 12.1. to the 9. *chap.* 14. to the end. *Mal.* 4. 1, 2, 3. *Revel.* 14. 8. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. *chap.* 18. quite thorow. *chap.* 19. 1, 2, 3. 11. and the following *verses*. *chap.* 20. In these places is described the setting at *liberty* of the Church of the *New Testament* from the persecution of the enemies of the *Gospel*, by an utter overthrow of them; from whence shall arise it's continuall Peace, together with an enlightment and Regeneration greater then now it hath; as also the Majesty or glory thereof shall appear, joyned with an absolute and sincere joy. All which are here and there to be found in the places quoted, and are unfolded in the following *Questions*. And this is that happy condition and estate of the *Church*, which shall be in this life, and shall last for a thousand years: And it consisteth of these Parts:

1. Of the *Resurrection of the Martyrs*, and of their Reign here upon Earth.

2. Of the *encrease of the Church*, and multitude thereof, through the *conversion* of the *Gentiles* and *Jews*.

3. Of the setting of the Church at *liberty from the persecution* of Enemies thereof, by the finall destruction of them.

4. Of the continuall and lasting *peace* thereof.

5. Of the *Reformation* of the same both in *doctrine* and *life*.

6. Of the *Majesty*, and great *glory* thereof.

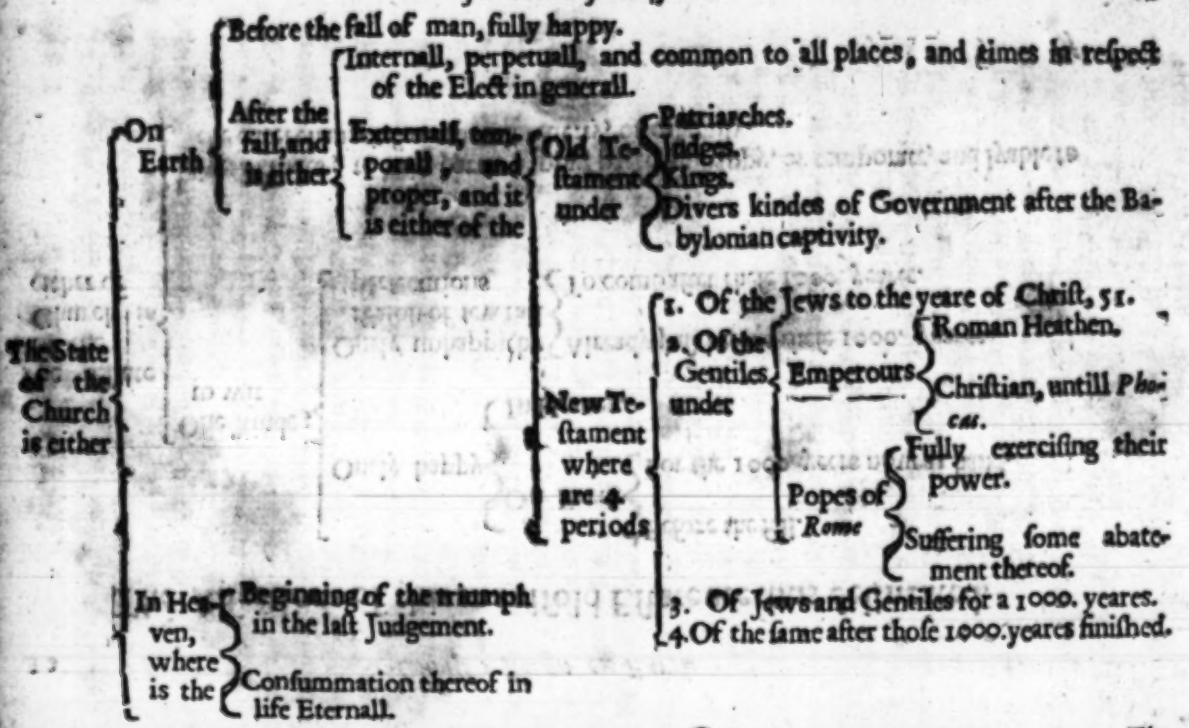
7. Of it's true and sincere *Joy*.

The fourth *Period* of the Church of the *New Testament*, is from the end of the *Thousand yeares* to the last Judgement. In which time the estate of the Church shall be very miserable, by reason of the War of *Gog* and *Magog*, unto which Christ shall put an end by his glorious coming to the generall Judgement, *Revel.* 20. 3. 7. 8 9, 10. And thus we have described the estate of the Church of the old and new Testament here *upon earth*.

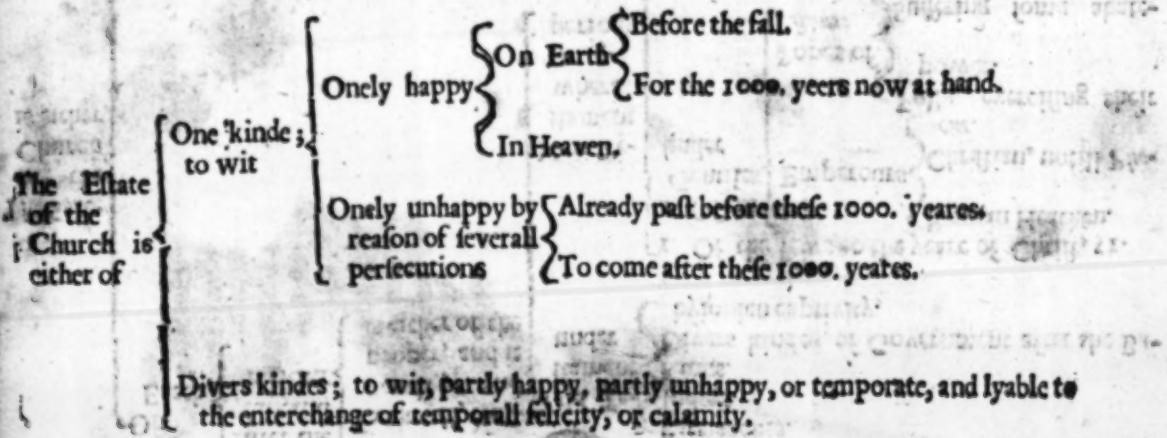
The estate of the Church *in heaven* is of perfect glory, everlasting triumph, absolute regeneration, exact illumination, and unspeakable joy.

And this is the full *Doctrine* concerning the *Estate of the Church*, which we thus set forth.

The


The State of the Church is either
On Earth
Before the fall of man, fully happy.
After the fall, and is either
Internall, perpetuall, and common to all places, and times in respect of the Elect in generall.
Externall, temporall, and proper, and it is either of the
Old Testament under
Patriarches.
Judges.
Kings.
Divers kindes of Government after the Babylonian captivity.
New Testament where are 4. periods
1. Of the Jews to the yeare of Christ, 51.
2. Of the Gentiles under
Emperours
Roman Heathen.
Christian, untill *Phocas*.
Popes of *Rome*
Fully exercising their power.
Suffering some abatement thereof.
3. Of Jews and Gentiles for a 1000. yeares.
4. Of the same after those 1000. yeares finished.
In Heaven, where is the
Beginning of the triumph in the last Judgement.
Consummation thereof in life Eternall.

The Affections of this manifold Estate are thus delineated.



Of

Of the Connexion of this Chapter with the former.

IOHN in his *Revelation* which he received from *God*, in the yeare of *Christ* 94. after the Preface, *chap.* 1 to the 9 *verse*, describes *seven* generall *Visions* in this order.

The *first* Vision is of the seven golden *Candlesticks*, and of so many *Starres*, and it is concerning the present and future estate of the seven Churches in *Asia*, in the 1, 2, 3 *chapters*.

The *second* Vision is of the Book shut up, and signed with *seven Seals*, in the 4, 5, 6 *chapters*. And it is concerning the estate of the Church of the new Testament after the departure of *John*, to the yeare of Christ 606.

The *third* Vision is of the *seven Trumpets*, in the 8, 9, 10, 11 *chapters*, and it is concerning the state of the Church from the year of Christ 606, to the year 1517.

The *fourth* Vision is of the *woman* bringing forth a childe, and of the *Dragon*, of the *Beast*, and the *Lamb*, in the 12, 13, 14 *chapters*. And it is partly a description of the Birth of *Christ*, partly a recapitulation and exposition of the *second* and *third* Visions, and concerning the estate of the Church of the New Testament, from the Nativity of Christ, to the yeare 1517.

The *fifth* Vision is of the *seven Vials*, in the 15 and 16 *chapters*; of which the three former are poured forth from the year of Christ 1517, to the year 1625. the four following shall be poured forth from the year 1625, to the year of Christ 1694. in which the 1000 years seem to begin.

The *sixth* Vision is partly of the *punishments*, as well those which are peculiarly appointed for the *Whore*, and her worshippers, before the beginning of the 1000 years, in the 17, 18, 19 *chapters*, as also those which shall be inflicted upon all the enemies of the Church: Partly of the *future happinesse* of the Church here upon earth, in the 20 *chapter*, from the 1 *verse* to the 7. After the end of those years, *chap.* 20. the 7, and following *verses*.

The *seventh* Vision is of the Heavenly City, *chap.* 21. 22.

II.

The Sum of this Chapter.

AFter that the *Evangelist* hath related what happened to the *first Beast*, and the *false Prophet*, and their followers, *chap.* 19. *verse* 20, 21. He tells you now what happened to the *Dragon* himself. For the *Mystery of Iniquity* being overthrown, and due punishments inflicted upon the first Beast, and the false Prophet, the *Angel* descends from Heaven, and being endowed with great Power, he takes order that the *Dragon*, that is, *Satan*, should not any more, by the ministery of ungodly men, stirre up those accustomed troubles in the Church Militant. Wherefore there being no place left him any longer for his wonted impostures, but bound up in the bottomlesse pit for a *thousand years*, the Nations are not seduced by him, untill being loosned out of prison, he again makes use of his old Engines and Stratagems against the Church. Therefore for the space of those whole 1000 years the Church shall enjoy outward peace, the *Martyrs* being raised from the dead, and the Nations, together with the Jews, being converted to the Faith of Christ. Now after the end of these thousand years, *Satan* is again let loose, and the Church, by reason of the Warre of *Gog* and *Magog*, made sensible of more grievous afflictions then she had suffered in former times. At length he being again thrust into the bottomlesse pit, together with all his forces and power, the Saints shall for ever reign with Christ.

III.

The Analysis of the Chapter.

AND] that is, After that. For καὶ is to be taken transitively here in this sense: After that I had seen the Beast, and the false Prophet thrown into the Lake burning with Brimstone, and the rest slain with the sword of him that sate upon the horse, and all birds satisfied with the flesh of them; I saw these things which now follow. *I saw*] that is, In the Spirit, or extasie of my minde. Compare *Revel.* 1. 10. *An Angel*] A good Spirit, a Minister of the Judgements of God, such as were in the former Visions. Therefore neither Christ, nor any Doctor of the Church is here to be

be understood. *Coming down from Heaven*] to wit, The third Heaven, or the Heaven of the blessed. *Who had the Key of the bottomlesse pit*] that is, Who had received power from God to open and shut up Hell. We must not therefore by *the Key of the bottomlesse pit* understand any inward light or knowledge kindled by some famous Doctor of the Church, by whose help the Scripture may be the more enlightned; or the profound skill in Divinity of such a one. *And a great chain in his hand*] The great power of binding and tying up the enemy is here understood. This *chain* therefore is falsly expounded concerning the Divine Writings of some Angel, or Teacher of the Church, whose coherence like a chain may be such, that they may bring Heaven and Earth together, and draw the hearts of the believers up unto God.

2. *And he caught*] as if he had laid hands on him. *The Dragon*] That monstrous, virulent, and violent enemy of Christ and Christians. *That old Serpent*] Who by his winding and subtle kinde of Oratory in the beginning of the world, seduced our first parents, and who yet keeps his old skin. *Who is the Devill*] That Slanderer, and Sophister; that mis-interpreter of all the good sayings and deeds, as well of God and Christ, as holy Angels and men. *And Satan*] The adversary, and everlasting enemy of God, Christ, and the Church. *And bound him*] By hindering his wicked enterprises and attemps. *A thousand yeers*] *Solar*, and usuall years.

3. *And he threw him into the bottomlesse pit*] that is, With mighty power he restrained the malignity of Satan, thrusting him down into Hell. *And * shut him up*] as if he should say, He laid him not onely fast in prison, but also shut up the prison upon him, with him in it. *And set a seal upon him*] Here are four acts of the Angel; the first bindes Satan, then cast him being bound into the bottomlesse pit, then he shuts up the pit, and sets a seal upon it being shut up. *That he might not seduce*] to wit, Partly by Idolatry, Superstition, and the power of lyes, partly by bringing War upon the Church. *Any more*] As he had formerly done. *The Nations*] Τὰ ἔθνη. The *Nations*, both Jews and Gentiles. This word ἔθνη in Scripture properly signifies the Gentiles as they were opposed to the Jews. But that in this place the signification of this word is extended, it doth hence appear: The power of the devill is

* ἔκλεισεν. yet some copies have ἔδησεν, *he bound him*. I cannot tell whether as properly, by reason ἐσφράγισεν followeth.

is so fast bound, he can no more seduce either Jews or Gentiles, for the space of those thousand yeers. Therefore this word is to be taken in a more large signification. So that the Conversion of the Jews is described also implicitely, in these words, *Till the thousand yeers were fulfilled*] to wit, Untill the whole course of the Churches hapyinesse here on earth were finished. *And after that he must be loosed*] For these thousand yeers being ended, the Devill by the just Judgement of God shall again recover his power, and indeed a farre greater. *For a short time*] The kingdom of *Satan* shall not fulfill a thousand years, but shall remain onely for a small time.

4. *And I saw Thrones*] Then I saw a Judiciall Processe prepared. *And they sate upon them*] that is, Christ and his holy Angels. *And Judgement was given unto them*] The power of Judgement was given by God as well to Christ, as to the chief Judge, as to the Angels, as it were his *Assessors*. Compare *Mat.* 25. 31. *And the souls*] I saw as well the Judges, Christ and his Angels, as also them that were to be judged, that is, To be absolved or freed in this Judgement. And in this place *souls* are put for *men*. *Of them that were beheaded*] that is, Of them that were slain by any kinde of torment: And it is a description of the *Martyrs*. *For the testimony of Jesus*] Whereby they witnessed concerning Christ, that he was the onely *Jesus*, that is, The onely *Saviour* both by merit and efficacy. *And for the Word of God*] that is, The holy Scripture, which they had learned to be the onely rule both of faith and life. *And which had not worshipped the Beast*] that is, The *Second Beast*; of which mention is in the 13 and 19 *chapters*; which had arrogated to it self the divine Honours of Christ. *Nor his Image*] that is, Those Kings and Princes which are the Image of the Beast; that is, which represent the Beast in their likenesse of doctrine and life. Compare *Revel.* 13. *v.*14. *And had not received his mark in their foreheads.*] By *mark* in this place is to be understood some characteristicall note, or distinguishing signe or token, which they are said to bear in their foreheads, who publikely professe themselves to be addicted to such or such a master, or leader. *Or in their hands*] that is, In their actions, Rites, and Ceremonies. In these words therefore is contained a concealed

antithesis

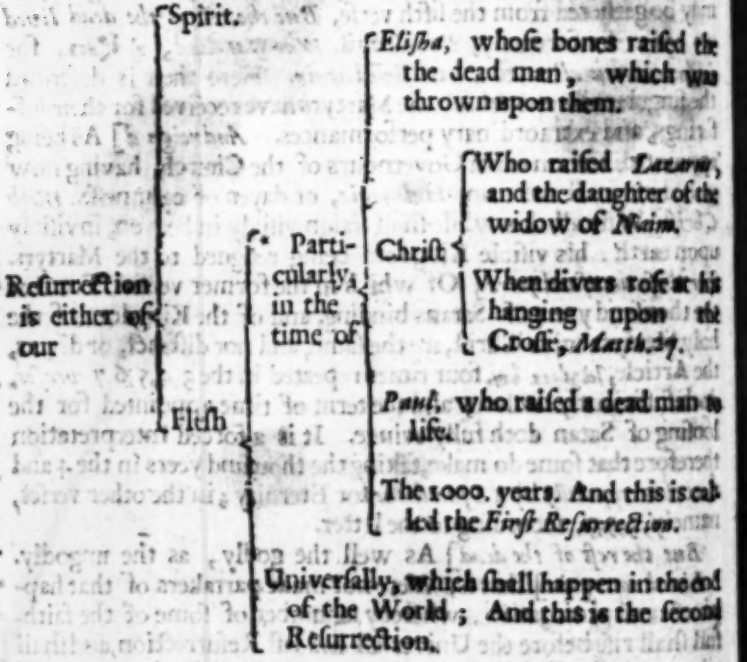
antithesis or opposition; whereby the *Martyrs* are declared contrary to the slaves and servants of the *Beast*; concerning whom there is former mention, *chap.* 13. *vers.* 14, 15, 16. that they worshipped the image of the Beast, and received his mark on their right hand, or on their foreheads. From which words it is manifest that the *Martyrs* are here described by the distinction of their sufferings and doings. *And they lived*] that is, They *lived again*, as may be gathered from the fifth verse, *But the rest of the dead lived not again.* So formerly, *Revel.* 2. 8. *Who was dead,* καὶ ἔζησεν, for ἀνέζησεν *and is alive*, for, *hath lived again.* Here then is described the singular reward which the Martyrs have received for their sufferings, and extraordinary performances. *And reigned*] As being appointed here on earth Governours of the Church, having now gained it's most welcome *Halcyonia*, or dayes of calmnesse. *With Christ*] Who all this while shall raign visibly in heaven, invisibly upon earth, his visible Kingdom being resigned to the Martyrs. *For those thousand years*] Of which in the former verse. For that the thousand yeers of Satans binding, and of the Kingdom of the holy Martyrs with Christ, are the same, and not distinct, or divers, the Article, τὰ χίλια ἔτη, four times repeated in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 *verses*, doth sufficiently declare, and the term of time appointed for the loosing of Satan doth fully evince. It is a forced Interpretation therefore that some do make, taking the thousand yeers in the 4 and 6 verses *tropically* by a *Synecdoche* for Eternity; in the other verses, namely, 3, 5, 7, according to the letter.

But the rest of the dead] As well the godly, as the ungodly. *Lived not again*] that is, Were not made partakers of that happinesse and prerogative, whereby a number of some of the faithfull shall rise before the Universall and last Resurrection, and shall reign with Christ here upon earth. *Until those thousand years shall be finished*] For they being ended, Christ not long after shall come to Judgement, which both the living and the dead must expect. *This is* **that first Resurrection*] In which the Bodies of the Martyrs shall rise, in the beginning of those thousand years.

* οὐκ ἀνέζησαν. But some Copies have the simple ἔζησαν, as in the foregoing verse.

* For the article ὁ, being doubled, ought to be prefixed more, then we see it is in our English Translation.

We must not therefore understand in this place a Spirituall Resurrection, by which we are said to rise out of the sleep, and death of sinne: For that Resurrection is common unto all good men, and happeneth daily. Wherefore thus we are to think concerning the Word *Resurrection*, when we finde it mentioned in Scripture.



a Read 1 King 17. 22. 2 King. 4. 35. 2 King. 13. 21. Matth. 9. 25. Luk. 7. 15. Iohn 11. 44. Matth 27. 52. 28. 6. Act. 9. 41. 20. 9.

6. *Blessed.*] With a speciall blessing, and proper onely to the Martyrs. *And holy.*] That is, Out of singular favour set apart by God for the priviledge of this peculiar blessing. *He who hath part in that first Resurrection.*] Who shall be in the number of the Martyrs, who shall rise in this first Resurrection. *On him the second death shall have no power.*] The second death is the casting away of the damned to eternall torments. Compare the 14. verse with this.

Otherwise

Otherwise it is called *Eternall death*. *But they shall be Priests of God and Christ.*] Not in that common respect, whereby all the elect in this life are spirituall Priests, who by the Spirit of Christ offer themselves up unto God: But by a speciall prerogative, whereby, the Martyrs being raised from the dead, shall obtain chief power in the Church, as it were Priests of God and *Christ*. as before these thousand yeares the Priests of *Antichrist* were cheif. *And they shall raign with him for a thousand years.*] In the Church, the profession of Christianity being no way hindred. See *Revel.* 5.10. and the *Questions* following. Therefore the peculiar happinesse of the Martyrs consisteth in the first Resurrection in their reign with Christ, in their Priesthood; in the same manner as we have described it.

7. *And when those thousand years shall be finished.*] To wit, of the happinesse of the Church, and of a free and universall profession of *Christianity*. Satan *shall be loosed out of his prison.*] That is, he shall recover his power and liberty to attempt and seduce without restraint, which power had lain asleep, as it were, and been buryed for the thousand years, the *Angel* now giving him leave, in whose hands it was, according to the pleasure and command of God, to binde and loose *Satan*.

8. *And he shall go forth.*] That is, out of his prison, or place of his custody, whereof in the foregoing verse; namely, Out of the bottomelesse pit, where he was detained. *That he may seduce the Nations in the four corners of the earth.*] That is, Wicked men, who shall heer and there remain in the World at the end of the *thousand* years. These Satan shall seduce, urging them to make warre against the Saints, *Gog and Magog.*] That is, those Nations which at that time Satan shall seduce, and which at the end of those 1000. yeares shall by warre make an attempt against the Church, and shall endeavour to destroy it, as in old time *Gog* and *Magog* vexed the people of the *Jews*. Therefore by *Gog* and *Magog* are heer to be understood all the professed enemies of the Church; even as *Gog*, that is, the people of the *Lesser Asia*, which environed *Judea* on the North; and *Magog*, that is, the *Scythians*, which inhabited places situate on the South of *Judea*, were the professed enemies of the *Jews*. Thus then we must understand it: The Devill Exek. 38. and 39.

vill shall seduce the Nations in the four corners of the Earth; the Nations, I say, which are endued with a spirit like that of *Gog* and *Magog*. Read the 38. and 39. *chapters* of *Ezekiel*. But you will say; How can it be that those wicked men should resume their power after these thousand years? I answer; This shall be brought to passe by the just judgement of God, whereby not only the great *Antichrist* shall flourish again, but also *Pagan*, and barbarous people, and other monsters of the same batch shall gain encrease. *And shall gather them together to battle.*] Against the profession of *Christ* in generall, that it being quite as it were thrust out of the world, they may substitute in the room thereof *Antichristianisme*, *Barbarisme*, and unbelief. *Whose number shall be as the Sand of the Sea.*] So that it shall be a most compleatly furnished army, whose like hath never been heretofore. And Satan, being confident in the strength of these forces, shall hope thereby to swallow up the Church.

Object.

Sol.

9. *And they went up on the breadth of the Earth.*] So great an army shall be gathered together, that no part of the earth shall be free from it. All the ground shall be covered with Souldiers. They shall *come up*; that is, they shall rely upon much force and ayde. And here is an allusion to *Gog* and *Magog* the Type, who being to besiege *Jerusalem*, which was placed upon a hill, were of necessity to ascend. *And the* [illegible] encompassed it.] The allusion to the type still holds: For the Church at that time shall be encompassed on every side with enemies, as in old time *Judea* was encompassed by *Gog* and *Magog*, those fierce and barbarous people. *The campe of the Saints.*] That is, Whersoever the true souldiers of Christ were, making warre in their own stations. *And the beloved City.*] The whole Church, which is one City at that time scattered through the whole world. *And fire came down from* God *out of heaven, and devoured them.*] Some such thing verily shall happen, as we read of *Gen.* 19. concerning *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*. And as the first world perished with the deluge of water: so *Gog* and *Magog* shall perish in the end of the world by the destruction of fire.

ἐκύκλευσαν.

10. *And the Devill that deceived them was cast.*] Otherwise then in the third verse; for here he is so cast, that he shall not be

loosed

looſed again thence for ever. *Into the lake of fire, and brimſtone.*] This is a deſcription of Hell. *Where the beaſt was.*] That is, The former Beaſt, which is deſcribed in the 16. *chapter, v.* 13. For that beaſt is diſtinguiſhed from the *falſe-Prophet*, who is the ſame with the latter beaſt: *And the falſe-Prophet.*] Great Antichriſt, *Apollyon*, the *Babylonian* whore, who with his ſubtle wiles ſeduceth men, perſwading and preſſing a counterfeit religion, wholly ſeeking after the honours and riches of this world, no otherwiſe then the falſe Prophets in the old Teſtament were wont to do. Wherefore in a ſpeciall manner *Antichriſt* is called the *falſe-Prophet*. *And ſhall be tormented.*] To wit, they three: The *Devill*, or *Dragon*, and his two companions, the *Beaſt*, and the *falſe-Prophet*. *Day and night.*] Continually, without intermiſſion. *For ever and ever.*] A deſcription of all Eternity.

11. *And I ſaw a great white Throne.*] By this *Throne* a cloud is underſtood; and being termed *a great Throne*, the Univerſall judgement is figured out; and being alſo called a *white* one, Truth, Equity and Juſtice are thereby ſignified. *And one ſitting thereon.*] Namely, *Chriſt*, God and Man. Now he is ſaid to be ſeen to ſit there, that hereby we may be taught, That he is prepared and ready to paſſe judgement. *From whoſe face.*] Being both moſt refulgent, and full of auſterity. *The Earth and Heaven fled away.*] That is, the faſhion of this world paſſed away, and was conſumed with fire, which went before this Judge; and the Creatures, the Inhabitants of earth and heaven, did all tremble at the ſight of him. *And there was found no place for them.*] By reaſon of the reſplendency, and Majeſty of the Judge, which no creature could endure, without being changed into ſome other ſtate, and condition. Therefore there ſhall be an Univerſall change of the whole world in that Judgement day.

12. *And I ſaw the dead.*] That is, Thoſe who had been dead; but were now raiſed, and reſtored unto life. *Small and great.*] A *Dichotomy*, or diviſion, naturally to be underſtood in regard of quantity; morally in regard of quality, or dignity. So that all muſt be placed before the *Tribunall* of Chriſt. *Standing before God.*] As expecting his definitive ſentence. *And the Books were opened.*] Books not deviſed or written by any other, then by eve-

ry one in his own private conſcience, dictated according to his ſeverall thoughts, words, and deeds. Theſe Books therefore thus written have hitherto been reſerved, ſhut up, and not taken notice of, as it were in ſome private cloſet, or place of account. But now they are opened, ſo that they may be plainly read by every particular man. *And another book was opened.*] That onely book,
Phil 4. 3 written by God himſelf. *Which is the book of Life.*] That is, The
Revel. 3 5 ſecret and hidden Decree of God concerning our Election, which there ſhall in publike be exhibited, and made manifeſt. Now it is called *The book of Life*, becauſe therein God hath as it were ſet down the names of them, who through his grace and favour ſhall become heirs of eternall life. Compare *Luke* 10. 20. *And the dead were judged.*] A definitive ſentence paſſing upon all; acquitting ſome, and condemning others. *Out of those things which were written in the Book.*] To wit, In the books of mens conſciences. Now theſe books ſhall be opened after a ſeverall manner. For the books of the Conſciences of godly men ſhall not be ſo opened, that their ſinnes ſhall riſe up in judgement againſt them, (for in this reſpect they are ſtill ſealed up,) but they ſhall be ſo opened, that they may read indeed their ſinnes there, many and great ones, but ſo as they are covered by *Chriſt*, and the power of them more and more weakened by the Spirit of Chriſt, through repentance and the ſtudy of good works. Therefore the godly ſhall reade in their conſcience the juſtice of Chriſt covering their ſinnes, and through him bringing forth good works. But the condition of the ungodly ſhall be farre otherwiſe; For they ſhall read in their conſciences their ſinnes not pardoned by Chriſt. *According to their works.*] Which ſhall give teſtimony either of their faith in Chriſt; or elſe of their impiety, and unbeleef.

13. *And.*] Tranſitively, for *After that*; that is, After the ſentence of the Judge now paſſed, and publiſhed. *The ſea gave up her dead that were in it.*] Being drowned, or devoured of fiſhes. *And death.*] That is, The Fire, Aire, and Beaſt of the Earth, and Fowls yeelded up their dead, which had not been buryed. *And Hell.*] That is, The *Grave*. In theſe words then is contained partly a deſcription of the generall Reſurrection, partly a diſtribution of the bodies of them that were dead into three ſorts; One of them that were drowned

drowned in the Sea; Another of thoſe which were not drowned in the Sea, but being dead had no buriall, as being brought to aſhes either by the fire or aire, or elſe devoured by beaſts of the earth, or by flying fowls; A third ſort of thoſe who were laid in their graves. *Gave up their dead.*] By the command and appointment of God. *Which were in them.*] The very ſame, and not others: the ſame in number. *And they were judged every man.*] Not any one being excepted. *According to their works.*] So that no man ſhall have cauſe to complain of any injury done unto him.

14. *And death.*] *And*, for *But*; adverſatively. *Death*, that is, ſome, and indeed moſt, of the dead, but not buryed. *And Hell.*] The Grave, which is here put for them that were buryed therein. And again, not all the buryed are here to be underſtood, but ſome, and indeed moſt. Now by *Death* and *Hell* may be underſtood men deſerving both. *Were caſt into the lake of fire.*] That is, made ſubject and ſlaves to eternall damnation; ſo that the Saints for the time to come need not ſtand in any danger or fear of them. *Which is the ſecond Death.*] Or, Eternall. This Relative *Which* may either be referred to the word *Lake*, or elſe may be taken collectively. In the former acception, the *Lake* is called the ſecond death, that is, a ſigne or Symbol of the ſecond, or eternall death. In the latter, the judgement of condemnation committed to execution is called the ſecond death. Now this is called the ſecond death, becauſe the bodies and ſouls of the damned do in very deed dye twice. For the body dyeth, both when it is ſeparated from the ſoul, and alſo, when being again joyned to the body, it is ſeperated from God: And the ſoul dyeth, both when in this life it ſeparateth it ſelf from God by ſinne, and when after this life it is ſeparated from God by everlaſting puniſhment. Laſtly, This puniſhment is called *Death*, becauſe it taketh away the life of grace and glory, with which if the life of nature be compared, it is rather to be called death then life.

15. *And whoſoever was not found.*] *And*, for *For*; a *copulative* particle for a *declarative*. *Finding* is here applyed to God by an [illegible], or by attributing of humane actions, paſſions, and affections to the unlimited power, and unſearchable operations of the Deity. *Written in the book of Life.*] Both in the former book,

as well through the love and election of God: as in the latter by faith, hope, and charity. *Was cast into the lake of fire.*] Through the just judgement of God, and by his own default.

2.

A Logicall-Theologicall Analysis.

This Chapter is divided into five parts.

I. THe Description of the Angel, *Vers.* 1.

II. The Effects, or operations of the Angel; that is, what the Angel did. *In part of the* 1. *Verse* 2. 3.

III. The happy estate of the Church which followed upon what the Angel had effected. In part of the 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. *Verses.*

IV. The troubled State of the Church, *Vers.* 7, 8, 9, 10.

V. The Description of the last judgement. *From the* 11. *Verse to the end.*

Of the first Part.

The Angel is described,

1. From the Person imployed therein, who is *John* the Evangelist, whose effect illustrated by the time added, is expressed in these words, *After that I saw.*
2. From the proper Person, or *Subject. An Angel.*
3. From the *effect* which is illustrated by the place, *Coming down from Heaven.*
4. From a double *adjunct*, illustrated by a threefold similitude, *Having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.*

Of the second Part.

Five effects of this Angel are recited,

1. The first is illustrated by an allegoricall description of the object, thus; *And he laid hold on the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devill, and Satan.*

2. The

2. The second is illustrated by the circumstance of time, *And he bound him for a thousand years.*

3. 4. 5. The other three are set down with a manifestation of the end for which this was done. *And cast him into the bottomelesse pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more.*

Of the third Part.

The happy estate of this Church here on Earth is either common, or proper.

The common estate of the Church is that of all the godly then living, in these words, *That he should not seduce them any more.* And it is described thus,

1. From the extent of the Subject, *That he might not seduce the Nations.*
2. From the adjunct of time, *Till the thousand years should be fulfilled.*
3. From the destructive cause of their felicity, *And after that he must be loosed.* Now as well the efficient cause of the corruption of this felicity is declared, namely, The decree of God. *He must be loosed* As the manner and forme, *Be loosed.* And lastly, the adjunct of time, *For a little season.*

The Proper estate of the Church is that of the Martyrs, and is consists of their Resurrection, and Kingdom.

The Resurrection of the Martyrs is described,

1. From the Person imployed. *Then I saw.*
2. From the impulsive procuring cause, to wit, the Judgement of those heavenly powers, which is illustrated from an adjunct and effect metaphoricall, thus; *Thrones, and they sate upon them, and judgement was given unto them.*
3. From the *recipient subject*, which is described from the adjunct passions, as also from the its effects; *And the soules of them, who were beheaded for, &c.* The *procuring cause* also of these passions or sufferings is declared, to wit; Their confessing of Christ, and their refusing of *Idolatry.*

4. From the manner of their Resurrection, *And they lived again.*

The Kingdom of the Martyrs is described from the effect, connexe, and adjunct time, *And they reigned with Christ a thousand years.*

The Resurrection of the Martyrs is again described,

1. From the unlike condition of others. *But the rest of the dead lived not again, untill &c.*
2. From it's *Epithite*. *This is the* first *Resurrection.*
3. From four adjuncts; of which the first, second, and fourth are peculiar; the third common.

For the Martyrs are described from their particular happinesse, *Blessed.* From their particular holinesse, *And holy.* From their holy security, *On such the second death hath no power.* From the dignity of their Priesthood, *But they shall be* Priests.

Their Kingdom, with the durance thereof, is the second time also set down in the 6. *Verse.*

Of the fourth Part.

The happy estate of the Church shall be troubled by the extreme persecution of the wicked, that is to say, by the warre of *Gog* and *Magog*, the *cause* whereof and the *event* is described.

The *cause* is as well *efficient*, as *formal*.

The *efficient* is either *principall*, The seducing of the Devill; or *instrumentall*, The wicked Nations.

The *seducing* of the Devill is described,

1. From the *time*; *When the thousand years shall be finished.*
2. From the *permissive cause*; Satan *shall be loosed out of his prison.* For he shall be let loose by the *Angel*, God permitting, and commanding it.
3. From the *manner*, and *end*; *And he shall go forth about to deceive the* Nations, *and gather them to battle.*

The

The *wicked Nations* are described,

1. From the *subject place*; *The Nations which are in the four corners of the earth.*
2. From the *comparison* with their like; *Gog and Magog.*
3. From the *adjunct*; *That be in the number as the sand of the sea.*
4. From the *multitude* added; which is set forth and illustrated by a *simile*; *whose number is as the sand of the Sea.*
5. From a double *effect*; *And they came up on the breadth of the earth, and encompassed, &c.*

The *event* of this warre of *Gog* and *Magog* is in respect;

1. Of the *Nations*; *But fire came down from Heaven.*
2. Of the *Devill*; whose *action* is described; *And the Devill who seduced them*: and his *passion*; *He was cast into the Lake.* And this punishment is described from his *companie*; *where the Beast and the false prophet are.* And from the *durance of time* added; *And they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*

Of the fifth Part.

The last Judgement is described,

1. From the *efficient cause*, which is the *Judge*; who is described partly from the limited *place*, to wit, *The Clouds*; *Then I saw a Throne, &c.* partly from *adjunct*, to wit, His *Majestie*; *And one sitting thereon before whose face the Earth and the Heaven fled away.*
2. From the *Object*, which are the guilty, or the persons to be judged; They are described both from their *past* condition; *The dead both small and great*, and so from their *present* state; *Standing in the sight of God*, as likewise from their *future* condition; *And they were judged.* From a tripartite distribution also from the distinct places. *And the sea gave up the dead and death, and hell gave up their dead which were in them.*
3. From the *Rule* observed in the Judgement, thereafter as their works are; *According as their works.* This rule is declared from the *infallibilitie* thereof, which is signified by the booke, that is,

the Consciences of men; *And the books were opened.* And by the Book of life also; *And another book was opened.*

4. From the *execution of the sentence*; of which *one part* here is onely mentioned, namely the casting of the wicked into the Lake of fire. *Vers.* 14. the *other* is related in the following *chapter.* Now this casting into the Lake is described partly from what *went before*; *And Death, and Hell.* Partly from the *forme*, and manner of it; *Were cast into the lake of fire; which is the second Death.* And partly also from the *impulsive cause*; *And whose names were not found in the book of life were cast into the lake of fire.*

If you like better of it, divide this *Chapter* into four particular *Visions*; Of which the

1. Is concerning the *Angel. Vers.* 1, 2, 3.
2. Is concerning the *State of the Church* here on Earth, as well
   - In a most *happy* condition, *Verse* 3, 4, 5, 6.
   - As in a most *afflicted*, and troubled, *Verse* 7, 8, 9, 10.
3. Is concerning the *throne of Christ* the Judge, *Vers.* 11.
4. Is concerning the *Universall Judgement*, and the processe thereof, *Verse* 12, 13, 14, 15.

IV.

The Paraphrase of the Chapter.

THe condition and estate of the *Asiaticans* Church being laid open unto me from the yeer of Christ 94, together with the *temptations* and assaults wherewith it was shaken; the *labours*, wherewith it was afflicted; the *deliverances*, whereby it was freed; the *Victory*, whereby it was ennobled: but specially, and last of all, the *fall of Babylon* being foretold and declared, 1. I saw in my extasie a good *Angel*, the Minister of the Judgements of God, such as I had seen in my former Visions; Him, I say, I saw *coming down from*

from the *heaven* of the blessed, *who had* by God entrusted to him *the key of the bottomlesse pit* of hell, that according to the appointment of God he might shut and open it; also a *great chain in his hand*, wherewith he might binde some powerfull enemy. 2. This Angel *laid hold of the Dragon, that* infernall *old Serpent*, who from the beginning vomited forth his poyson upon man-kinde, and deceived them with his winding Sophismes, *who is* both *the Devill*, slandering God before men, and on the other side men before God; who is also *Satan*, the adversary of God and men; of Nature in generall, and of the Church. This Deceiver, being found and apprehended in his Sophistry and Tyranny, the good Angel *bound* with his chain, and that *for a thousand* Solar years, and commonly used in the generall course of life. 3. Neither was it enough for him to binde him, but moreover *he cast him* being bound, and threw him headlong *into the bottomlesse pit*, and being thrown down thither, *he shut him up*; and being shut up, *he sealed* the Cover of the bottomlesse pit, lest breaking forth by any means, *he might seduce*, partly to Idolatry, partly to the persecution of the Church, *any more*, as he had done before, *the Nations*, as well Jews as Gentiles, *untill the thousand years are finished*. For *afterwards he must* (God so appointing it) *be let loose* out of his prison *for a short time*, which God hath limitted, and which shall not be for a thousand yeers, as the time of his binding, and his being shut up was. 4. A joyfull *Catastrophe*, or issue, shall follow this Tragedy of the Dragon. For I *saw Thrones* set in order, and and Christ with his holy Angels *sate upon them*. For unto these *power was given to judge*, partly by giving and executing sentence, partly by approving thereof. I saw also *the soules of them who were beheaded*, and tormented with innumerable kinds of punishments, not indeed for their own offences, but *for the testimony* which they gave concerning Christ, the Son of God, and onely Advocate of the Church; *and for the Word of God*, which they had boldly maintained against the corruptions of men: *and who had not worshipped* that second *Beast*, which I made mention of that I saw it before; *nor the image of that* Beast which is two-fold, both in respect of *doctrine*, and *life: neither had received his mark in their foreheads*, publikely making shew and witnessing by their words, that they be-

longed to the family of the Beast: Lastly, they had not so much as received this mark *in their hands*, expressing the same either in their life, manners, or actions. Such as these *lived*, their bodies being raised again, and restored to life. Neither did they only live again, but also *reigned* in the Church, freed now from Persecutions, with Christ, that King of kings, *for a thousand years*. 5. *But the rest of the dead*, as well the godly who before these 1000 years received not the Crown of Martyrdom, as the ungodly, *lived not again till the thousand years were finished*. And this is the *first Resurrection*, due only to them as a Prerogative, who above others have glorified the Lord Christ in their bodies, nothing terrified with the threats, curses, and torments of men. 6. These Martyrs therefore, *who have their part in the first Resurrection*, are deservedly esteemed *happy* above others, as also peculiarly *separated*, and set aside by God for the receiving of such a reward. For the *second death shall have no power over them*. By reason that though they live the second time here upon earth, yet they shall no more by any sin engage themselves so, that they need to fear any danger of an eternall death. For they shall be here upon earth *Priests of God, and of Christ*, not of this world: and they *shall reigne* with Christ, not as the kings of the Nations, but in the Majesty of the Spirit, *for these thousand years*. 7. Now *when these thousand years shall be fulfilled*, the happinesse of the Church shall on the sudden begin to fail here on earth. For Satan in an instant shall be let loose out of his prison, in which he was most carefully kept for those thousand years. 8. But being thus set at liberty, he shall not rest so, but shall return to his old game, and so *he shall go forth, that he may* the more freely seduce *the Nations*, which are in *the four corners of the earth*, towards the East, and towards the West, towards the North, and the South. Now he shall not onely by heresies of all kindes, lead on the blinde world to *Apostasie*, or falling away from the faith; but also he shall behave himself as a Captain, or Leader, to bring on a grievous Persecution upon the Church, stirring and raising up against it *Gog* and *Magog*, the sworn enemies thereof, and of God himself; such as were of old those people, who under these names were bitter enemies to the *Jews*. And having thus stirred them up, *he shall gather them together to Battell*,

Ezek. 38. and 39. ch.

farre

farre more cruell and bloody then hath been from the beginning of the world. For men shall enter into this Battell barbarous in their monstrous cruelty, and monstrous cruell in their barbarousnesse, whose number shall be as the sand of the Sea. 9. Wherefore these vast forces, under the conduct of Satan, *shall come upon the earth*, and shall cover *the breadth* thereof with their multitudes. And straightway, *they shall encompasse the Camp of the* Saints, whersoever it shall be; and with their utmost diligence and devices, shall endeavour quite to deface the Church, that *beloved City* of God. But however, in the very midst of this their rage and fury, being greater then that either of the *Cyclops* or *Giants*, on a sudden *a fire shall come down from Heaven*, God himself sending forth lightnings and flashings of fire upon them, and shooting out his Arrows against them. This fire *shall devour* those his innumerable enemies, like stubble. 10. But neither shall their Leader, *the Devill*, who conducted, and *seduced them*, carry it away so without his due punishment for opposing the Church of *God*, by the seduced *Nations*. For *he shall be cast into the Lake of fire and brimstone*, that is, into hell it self, where his companions, the first *beast*, *and the false Prophet*, who is the *great Antichrist*, being thrust down a little before the beginning of the thousand yeers, do endure their punishment. There *they shall be tormented day and night* without intermission, *for ever and ever*, that is, For all ages; so that for the time to come they shall never scape forth again. 11. I *saw also* a great cloud *like a great White Throne*, and Christ, the Son of GOD, the Judge of the living and dead, *sitting thereon* with great Majesty, and prepared to give Judgement: *From before his face the Earth and the Heaven fled away, and there was no place found for them.* For this earth, and this heaven shall passe away at the coming of Christ, and all things shall be made new. 12. *I saw also* all *the dead, small and great standing before God*, and ready to hear the sentence of the Judge. What happens then? *The books* of mens Consciences *are opened*, the counsells of all mortall men, and the secrets of their hearts, being brought to light. Now lest the elect children of God should be disheartned, every one by the particular survey of his own *book*, or conscience, behold *another book is opened* for them, I mean *the Book of Life*, in which according

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ing to the fatherly acceptance of God in Christ, their names are written from everlasting. These books being thus opened, *the dead are judged out of those things which are written in the books, according to their works*; and that after such manner, that the works of the Saints are judged out of the book of life, which contains the books of their Consciences, washed and cleansed with the Blood of Christ; But the works of the ungodly are numbred and surveyed, and so judged, out of the books of their own consciences, not cleansed from sins, nor purged with the Blood of Christ. 13. Hereupon then *the Sea gave up its dead*, which had been concealed in the bosome thereof. *Death also and the Grave*, that is, The fire, ayr, and the earth, and indeed all the Elements *delivered up their dead*, which having received formerly, they had partly consumed, partly yet preserved. They were therefore *all judged*, and every one in particular, none at all excepted; and they were judged justly; for the judgement was *according to* every ones *works*, of which their consciences bare them record. 14. And this being performed, ungodly men, *Death and Hell*, that is, Men deserving both, *were cast into that lake of fire*, that there forever they might swallow up waters running with fire, and there suffer the *second death*, that is, by dying the second death never to die. 15. For *whose name soever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into that lake of fire*, both by the just Judgement of God, and by the heynousnesse of his own deservings.

V.

The Questions arising in this Chapter.

THe chief *Questions* of this Chapter are these:

1. Whether these *thousand years*, severall times here mentioned, are alwayes to be understood literally.
2. Whether they be *already* finished.
3. *What year* ought to be put for the *beginning of them.*
4. What is to be understood by the *first Resurrection.*
5. Who are to be understood by *Gog* and *Magog.*
6. Whether the *Martyrs* with Christ shall reign here on Earth.

All

All which Questions I will bring into this one; *Whether there shall be any happinesse of the Church here upon earth, before the last day; and of what kinde it shall be?* This *question* I will handle somewhat more largely, both by way of *confutation*, and *confirmation*. I will in the first place therefore by certain *Classes*, or *ranks* of Arguments, *confirm* the truth to be maintained herein: After that I will *confute* the Objections of the adversary part.

I.

The Confirmation of the Truth.

THere shall be three *Classes*, or *ranks* of Arguments for the maintaining of this Truth, which we comprehend in the following *Thesis*, or Position: *The happy estate of the Church in this life shall consist of the Resurrection of the Martyrs, and their kingdome here on earth; of the freedome of the Church from the persecution of the enemies of the Gospel, by an utter overthrow of them; of a lasting peace which shall arise from thence; of the encrease of the Church, or the multitude of the believers by the conversion of the Jews, and Nations not yet converted; of the Reformation of Doctrine, (or a greater enlightment) and life, among all estates of men; of the Majesty also, and great glory of the Church; and lastly, of the sincere joy thereof. Now this happinesse shall begin in that very year, wherein it shall come to passe, That the kingdom of that great Antichrist shall be destroyed: and it shall last for a thousand years.*

The truth hereof we will make good, 1. Out of the *Context*, and Coherence of this Chapter. 2. Out of other sayings of the *Scripture*. 3. Lastly, by Arguments taken from *reason*, and the *consent* and agreement of some *holy* and *learned men*.

The first Classis of Arguments.

From the *Context* of the Chapter we draw these Arguments:

THe first Argument is taken from the connexion of this Vision with the former, which is described, *chap. 19. verse 19, 20, 21.* For *John* saith in the first verse of this Chapter, *And I saw*, that is, *Afterwards*; to wit, After I had seen the Beast, and the false-

false Prophet cast into the Lake of fire. Now lest any one should think that this *casting* of them in shall be in the end of the world, *John* doth presently adde; *and the rest were slain with the sword of him that sate on the horse, and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.* From which words it is manifest, That it is spoken here concerning the destruction of *Antichrist*, and his followers, which shall not happen in the last and Universall Judgement, but shall be a particular Judgement by it self: which is thus demonstrated: The *coming of Christ* to the last Judgement shall at length happen after the Warre of *Gog* and *Magog*; which is a distinct War from that which is described, *chap.* 19. *ver.* 19. For the *Warre of Gog* shall be against the Saints, having now enjoyed a long-lasting Peace. But the *Warre of Antichrist* shall be against the Saints, being now brought almost to nothing by some great persecution. Again in this 20th *Chap. vers.* 10. it is said, That the Devill should be *cast into the lake of fire and brimstone* after the Warre of *Gog*, *where the Beast and the false prophet* ΩΑΣΙΝ; which words have a plain respect to those, *chap.* 19. *ver.* 20. *These both* (the Beast, and the false prophet) *were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with Brimstone.*

The second *Argument* is from the *Connexion* of this Vision with the following, which is set down in the 21 *Chapter*. For, saith *John* in the first *verse* thereof. *After that I saw a new Heaven, and a new Earth*; that is, The thousand yeers being finished, the Warre of *Gog* and *Magog* being ended, and the execution of the last Judgement, of which in the 20th *chapter*, being accomplished: As if he should say, Hitherto I have seen and declared the estate of the Church Militant, and beginning to triumph in the last Judgement: Now followeth the Vision and Declaration of the estate of the whole Church going on in it's progresse of Triumph in life eternall.

ΩΑΣΙΝ, saith *Alsted*. The Originall wants the verbe set down. But our English useth the present *are*. The *Vulger edition* is most dissonant from the *Greek*, —*is stagnum ignis & sulphuris, ubi & bestia & pseudopropheta cruciabuntur die ac nocte*. The *Author* thereof quite misplaced καὶ the Copulative before *Cæruleos*, putting it before τὸν θεὸν collectively, omitting also the interpunction after *Jacobæos*.

Notwithstanding he is followed by the *Geneva* Translators. *Rob. Stephan.* ΤΟΥ ΘΗΡΙΟΥ & bestiæ, & illi Pseudoprophetæ: & cruciab. The *Original*: Translation, both *Arabique*, and *Syriaque*, differ not from the received *Greek*; The latter of which in this Book, and some other places of the *N.T.* we owe to an old copy in the Library of that incomparable Magazine of all Learning and Piety, D. *Usher*, and to the earnest pains of Mr *Pococke*, Professor of the *Arabique* in *Oxford*, who from thence supplied the former defects in this Translation.

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The *third Argument* is from the often *repetition* of those words, χίλια ἔτη, [*a thousand years*] and withall the addition of the Article τὰ χίλια ἔτη, [*the, or those thousand years*,] whereof the former is once only used, the latter four times from the 2 *verse* to the 8. which repetition argues that these words are to be understood Historically, and according to the letter; except you had rather say that *John* is a[a] *babler*, or a vain repeater of the same words needlesly again and again.

[a] *Aliàs* word is *Battalogus*, from the verb used by Christ, *Mat.6.7.* Of the various interpretations thereof, see the most learned *Fuller. Miscell Sacr.* Lib. 2. cap. 16.

The *fourth Argument* is from the *comparing* of this Vision with the *History* of what hath hitherto happened. For it cannot be proved out of any *History*, That those things which were treated of in this *Prophesie*, have yet come to passe. For as yet the Devill was never so bound for *a thousand years*, as that he was cast into a bottomlesse pit, and there shut up, and withall a Seal set upon him, that he might not seduce the Nations any more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; which being expired, he should be let loose for a little season.

I require then that some age of the *New Testament* may be produced, wherein the *Epocha*, or *beginning* of these years may be said to have been.

Again, The Resurrection of the *Martyrs* is proved from the *Antithesis*, or *opposition* expressed in the 4. and 5. *Verses*; where it is expresly said, That *the rest of the dead lived not again untill the thousand years were expired.* Therefore, when as it is said that the Martyrs lived, they are to be understood to have lived again. Now let it be made appear when this living again happened.

Lastly, The warre of *Gog* and *Magog* hath not been yet, as many would have it: For after those thousand years shall be finished, in all which time no Nations shall be seduced by *Satan*; then, I say, shall this new seduction begin over the whole face of the earth, and from the four corners of the world an innumerable army shall be gathered, which shall bring great trouble to the *Saints*, and shall be consumed with fire sent down from *God*. Seeing therefore these three things, which I have mentioned, are not already fulfilled, it is most certain that they are yet to be fulfilled.

The *fifth Argument* is from the *absurdity* that will follow: For except we keep close to the letter, and apply it to the happiness of the Church which shall be hereafter on earth, both the explication and application of this whole Prophesie will prove very empty, unsavory, and wrested. Let us take one of many. Some say that these thousand years here mentioned began with the overthrow of the *Temple*, and *Jewish* Worship; because then the *Jews*, who hitherto never ceased to trouble the Nations, and to turn them aside from the *Gospel*, being now scattered and cast off, the Nations now by whole troops were brought in in their stead to the Church of *Christ*, and that then Satan being bound, it was made apparant that he ceased from seducing the Nations. Now let us see what a fine exposition this is. *Jerusalem* was overthrown by *Titus* in the 69. year of *Christ*: Here then let us begin the *Epocha* of these thousand years, so that they may end in the year of *Christ* 1069. Now let there be conferred with this whole course of time the *Conversion* of the *Nations*, the sinck of *Heresies*, the defection and seduction of *Mahomet*, the *Mystery of Iniquity*, and lastly the *persecution* of the *Godly*; and then let it be shewn how *Satan* reigning all this while so powerfully, was bound for a thousand years, and seduced not the *Nations*. Let it be shewn also how any *Martyr* ever reigned with *Christ* from the year of the Lord 69 to the year 1069. Certainly none have yet reigned with Christ, because none have yet risen from the dead. Now the reign of the *Martyrs* with *Christ* must follow their Resurrection. So that if these thousand years were expired in the year of Christ 1069. It follows, That these 573 years, which have passed from that time to this present year 2643. is a *little season* in respect of a thousand years: because it is said, That after those thousand years the Divell shall be let loose *for a little season, that he may again seduce the Nations*, Vers. 3, 7, 8. But 573 years cannot be said to be a *little season* in regard of 1000 years, seeing they contain a great deal more then half thereof. Neither doth that make voide the truth hereof, which they bring out of 2 Pet. 3. 8. that *a thousand years with* God *are but as one day*: For there it is spoken concerning God's estimate, or account; who as he esteems a thousand years but as one day, so again he esteems one

This is called *receptior sententia*, by Dr. Prideaux. in Orat. 3.

Psal. 90. 4.

day

day as a thousand years, as it is plain out of the place now cited. But here it is spoken concerning man's estimate, who makes not the like account of a short, as he doth of a long time.

The *sixth Argument* is *ab implicito*, as they use to speak; implyed and necessarily deduced from another truth. *John* writes, that for the space of those thousand years the Nations should not be seduced, *Vers.* 3. where not only the *Heathens*, but also the *Jews* are to be understood. For *Satan* is so bound, and committed to Hell, that he cannot at all seduce any one. Therefore neither the Jews. Now it plainly appears to every one, that the Jews ever since the *Passion* of Christ, even to this very age of ours, have been most miserably seduced. Therefore these thousand years are yet to come. Again, It is very probable, That the *Persecution* of the Church hath been a great occasion, among other things, to hinder the *Jews* gathering of themselves to the *Church*. Therefore if the Jews should but see the wonderfull overthrow of *Antichrist*, without doubt it would afford them a great occasion of their Conversion. Upon this ground, the overthrow of Antichrist shall immediately go before, not the *last judgement*, but the *happiness of the Church* which shall happen in this life.

The *second Classis* of Arguments.

OUt of divers *places of Scripture* we will bring severall Arguments, which shall all have dependance upon this *Syllogism*.

What things soever are by God foretold in the *Old* and *New* Testament, and are not already fulfilled, shall of certainty be yet fulfilled.

But the great happinesse of the Church here on earth is foretold by God in the *Old* and *New* Testament, but not as yet fulfilled:

Therefore, It shall be yet fulfilled.

The *Assumption*, or second proposition, we will demonstrate out of divers places of Scripture, in which the parts of this *future happinesse*, which a little before we have declared, do either severally, or more of them together, occurre.

The *first* place is *Gen.*17. 4, 5, 6. Where God thus speaks unto *Abraham*: *As for me, behold I make my Covenant with thee, and thou shalt be a father of* many Nations. *Neither shall thy name any more be called* Abram, *but thy name shall be* Abraham: *for a father of* many Nations *have I made thee. And I will multiply thee abundantly, and I will make Nations of thee, and Kings shall come out of thee.* In these words is promised unto *Abraham*, that he shall be a father, not onely of the *Jews*, but also of the *Gentiles*. For it is plain, That divers people had their originall and descent from *Abraham*. For besides that *Isaac* was born of him, *Ismael* also grew into a great people, and the *Edomites* also descended from him were scattered farre and wide. Of other sonnes also, which he had by *Keturah*, very large families were spread abroad. But what? *Moses* had a farther respect in these words, namely, that the *Nations* by faith were to be inserted into the kindred of *Abraham*, though they were not begotten of him according to the flesh, as the *Apostle* witnesseth *Rom.*4 11. The *Jews* of all kinds, and *Gentiles* shall be the sonnes of *Abraham* in Christ. But this is not yet brought to passe; Because the *tenne* Tribes carried away by *Salmanassor* have heard nothing concerning *Christ*, and the two Tribes, *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, have hitherto wandred in their own wayes, as also the *Indians*, and the like unto them. It must be therefore that they also at length be brought into the Covenant made with *Abraham*.

The *second* place is *Gen.*18. 18. *Seeing that* Abraham *shall surely become a great and mighty nation; and all the* Nations *of the earth shall be blessed in him.* Compare *Gen.* 26. 4. Hence I thus reason. In the seed of *Abraham*, which is *Christ*, all the Nations of the earth shall be blessed; But this hath not yet come about, as it appears out of the illustration of the former *place*. This therefore must be yet done. Compare *Gen.* 21. 13. where God promiseth *Abraham*, that of the sonne of the Bond-woman *Hagar* he would make a Nation, that is, he would cause that of him many people should be born, because he was his seed. As if he should say; This seed of *Abraham* also shall not slip out of my remembrance, but in it's due time it shall know that I am the God of *Abraham*.

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The *third* place is *Gen.*27. 40. *When thou* (Esau) *shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his* (thy brother *Jacob's*) *yoke from off thy neck.* This shall then be done, when the posterity of *Esau* shall grow together into one body with the *Israelites.* Which is not yet done.

The *fourth* place is *Gen.*48.19. *Notwithstanding his* (Manasse's) *yonger brother* (Ephraim) *shall grow greater then he, and his seed shall be the fulnesse of the* Nations. These words receive light from the 11 *chapter* to the *Romans,* where the same manner of speaking is used. This therefore shall be the meaning. Out of *Ephraim* indeed no numerous off-spring shall arise according to the flesh (for in this respect the tribe of *Judah* exceeded the tribe of *Ephraim,*) but this shall be his prerogative, that *his seed shall be the fulnesse of the Gentiles:* that is, shall put a conclusion to the Conversion of the *Gentiles,* and so together with the rest of the *Jews* shall be turned unto *Christ.*

The *fifth* place is *Gen.*49.10. Which is spoken of *Shiloh,* that is, the *Messias: And unto him shall the gathering* [or, *obedience*] *of the people be.* That is of *Jews,* and Gentiles; as also of the *Turks,* and *Indians,* and of the *tenne Tribes.*

The *sixth* place is *Gen.*49.18. Here *Jacob* breaths forth his griefs for the tribe of *Dan: I have waited for thy salvation, ô Lord.* As if he should have said; yet at length I shall be saved, ô God, however thou meanest to scatter me with the other nine tribes of *Israel.* For it is a very hard censure utterly to exclude those *tenne tribes* from the Communion with *Christ.*

The *seventh* place is *Gen.*49. 26. Here *Jacob* thus speaks unto *Joseph. The blessings of thy father have prevailed with the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.* That is, They are not only temporall, but eternall. For he joyns together spirituall promises, with earthly; because the one are but the resemblances, and figure of the other. Therefore those last words are a circumlocution of *Perpetuity.* I demand then, where in the whole world were the posterity of *Joseph* made partakers of *Christ?* It is necessary therefore that this promise should yet be fulfilled.

The *eighth* place is *Numb.*24.17. Where *Balaam* thus prophecieth,

cieth concerning Christ. *I see him, but not now: I behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a starre out of* Jacob, *and a scepter shall arise out of* Israel, *and shall smite all the corners of* Moab, *and destroy all the children of* Seth. Here by the children of *Seth* are understood all the children of this world: because we are all sprung out of *Seth*, who succeeded into the place of *Abel*, who was slain. For the posterity of *Cain* perished in the *Deluge*. *Noah* had his descent from *Seth*. And from *Noah* was the repatation of mankinde. Wherefore the sonnes of *Seth*, are as much as the sonnes of *Adam*; that is, all mankinde. This is the meaning; *Christ* who shall come out of *Jacob* as a starre, and whose scepter shall rise out of *Israel*, shall bring to nothing the *Moabites*, the enemies of the *Israelites*, and shall destroy all the sonnes of *Seth*, that is, *all men*, by subjecting them to himself by his own Spirit. Which yet, as experience it self may be witnesse, hath not been brought to passe. Now in this place I translate it, *the sonnes of Seth*, following the Lxx. *Interpreters*, and *Vatablus*: because the *Antitheſis* between *Moab*, and *Seth* so required. To say nothing that that Translation, *He shall destroy all that are behinde*, is forced. Now in the word, he shall destroy, there is an extraordinary *Emphaſis*, or significancy; for the *Hebrew* word denoteth as much as *to break down a wall*: as if he should say; he shall break in pieces their walls, that is, whatsoever all men have of their proper holynesse, or worth, this *Starre* shall make dimme, and obscure, and shall weaken all power, that lifteth it self up against God.

קיר A parietibus. The Participle of the Verb in this place is also used *Isai.* 22 5. קר בקרקר Destruens parietem.

The *ninth* place is *Deut.* 30. 3,4. *Then shall the Lord God turn thy captivity, and shall have mercy on thee, and will return and gather thee from among all the people, whither thy Lord God had scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence he will fetch thee.* This truly is not fully performed in the bringing back of the *Babyloniaa* captivity. For neither were the *tenne Tribes* then brought back. See also the 6. and the 8. *Verses*. For what is spoken there concerning the *circumcision of the heart* is meant of the faith in Christ, without which no man's heart is cleansed.

The

The *tenth* place is *Deut.*32. to the 44. *verse*. Here from the first *verse* to the 40. divers passages occurre concerning the Conversion of the *Jews*, as *Heurnius* doth learnedly expound them. Then from the 40. *verse* to the 44. is the prophecy of the calling of the *Gentiles*. For the Apostle *Rom.* 15. 10. alleageth the first part of the 43. *verse* to this purpose. Now here it is propheſied of the *destruction* of the enemies of the Church, and of the ſpilling of their bloud in fight. Which deſtruction hath not happened yet, as is plain by this *Syllogiſme*. If the *Deſtruction*, here propheſied of by *Moſes*, agrees with that, which is propheſied of *Revel.*19. *verſ.*20. 21. it hath not yet happened out, but is to come. But the *Antecedent* is true; Therefore alſo the *Conſequent*. The *Aſſumption* is made good by the comparing of theſe two places. And here it ſhall not be amiſſe in brief to call into our memory, how many *deſtructions* of the enemies of the Church after the *Babylonian* captivity, we meet withall in the *Prophets*. And they are in number *three*. The *firſt* Deſtruction is, of the enemies of the Church of the *Jews* in the time of the *Maccabees*. *Dan.*11. 34. 35. The *ſecond* Deſtruction is of the enemies of the Church of the *Gentiles*, *Dan.*11. 34. 35. *Revel.*19. *verſ.* 20, 21. The *third* Deſtruction is of the enemies of the Church of both *Gentiles* and *Jews*, a little before the end of the world. *Revel.*20. 4.

*De Legatione Evangelica ad Indos. fol.*144.

The *eleventh* place is *Nehem.*1. 8, 9. Here the promiſe of God, *Deut.*30. 3, 4. a little before explained, is repeated: and is applyed to the bringing back of the *two tribes* from the *Babylonian* captivity, which was a type of the deliverance of them all, which is yet to come. For God promiſed the *twelve Tribes*, that he would gather them together whither ſoever they were ſcattered among divers Nations, although they were driven to the utmoſt part of Heaven, that is, into the moſt remote Countreys: Which cannot be interpreted of the *Babylonian* captivity alone. For neither then were all the Tribes brought back; neither was their bringing back from the remoteſt Lands.

The *twelfth* place is *Pſal.*22. 27, 28. *All the ends of the earth ſhall remember, and be converted unto the Lord. And all the kindreds of the* Nations *ſhall bow down themſelves before him.* Compare *Pſal.*86. 9. *All* Nations *whom thou haſt made, ſhall come and worſhip before thee,*

thee, O Lord; and shall glorifie thy name. So *Psal.* 117. 1. *O praise the Lord all ye Nations; praise him all ye people.* Let us search through the Monuments of *Histories*, and then let us examine whether this hath been, or no. We shall finde indeed in some new found Lands, detested in ours and our fathers memory, that the works of the Conversion of the *Nations* hath had some beginning and small progresse: But in many parts of the *East* to this day, we shall finde so little progresse, that not so much as a beginning thereof will any where yet appear.

The *thirteenth* place is the whole 97. *Psalm.* This *Psalm* containeth a Prophesie of the Kingdom of Christ in his Church of the *New Testament*, as may be gathered out of the 7. *verse*, the latter part of which the Apostle *Heb.* 1. 6. alleageth concerning *Christ*. Again, Many *Islands* are bid to *rejoyce*, which cannot be accommodated to the Church of the *Old Testament*. Whence by the word *Sion*, *verse* 8. the Church of the *New Testament* is to be understood, as almost every where in *Isaiah*. Moreover in the 6. *verse*, it is said: *All the people see his glory.* Lastly, the *judgements* of God upon his enemies, and the *joy* of the Church, which both are here described, have not as yet been accomplish'd.

The *fourteenth* place is *Psal.* 110. *The Lord at thy right hand shall strike thorow Kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the heathen, he shall fill the places with dead bodies. He shall wound the head over many Countries.* That these things are not yet come to passe, will appear to any one, that will take into his consideration *History*, and *Experience*. But that is especially to be taken notice of, which he speaks concerning the *Head over many Countreys*. For without doubt it is to be understood concerning that *Great Antichrist*, whom many Countries acknowledge for the HEAD of the Church.

The *fifteenth* place is *Isai.* 2. 1, 2, 3, 4. Here is mention made of the *last times*; and four things are prophesied of, which then shall happen out. 1. *The Mountain of God shall be placed on the top of the Mountains.* 2. *All Nations shall flow in unto it.* 3. *The Law shall come out of* Sion. 4. *They shall beat their Swords into Plough-shares*, &c. *Nation shall not lift up a sword against Nation*, &c. Of these the *first* and the *third* are fulfilled: The *second* will be brought

to

to passe more and more every day: The *fourth* is not yet accomplished; as *experience* hath hitherto taught us, and doth yet teach us.

The 16. place is *Isai.* 11. 10, 11, 12. Two things are here prophesied of. 1. The Conversion of the *Gentiles* a little after the first coming of Christ by the preaching of the Gospel, *Verse* the tenth, *For it shall come to passe at that time* (of the coming of *Christ*, of whom is the foregoing Prophesie from the beginning of the *Chapter* hitherto) *that the Nations shall seek unto the roote of* Jesse. 2. The Conversion of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* together, *Verse* 11, 12, See *Heurnius* upon this place. Compare this Prophesie with the sixteenth *Verse* of this Chapter, and with the following twelfth Chapter. Fol. 175.

The 17 place is *Isai.* 24. 23. Where there is foretold that the Lord *shall reign gloriously in the mount of Sion, and in* the City of *Jerusalem*: and in that manner, That the *Moon* and *Sun shall be covered with shame* at this glory of the Kingdom of God in his Church; so great shall be the glory and splendor thereof. Now this so great *glory* hath not as yet been seen, either in the Church of the *Old*, or *New* Testament. Therefore in it's due time it shall be seen.

The 18 place is *Isai.* 25. from the 1 to the 13 *verse*. Here is contained a Prophesie concerning the Church of the *New* Testament, as it appears by the comparing of the 8 *verse* with *Rev.* 7. 17 and *chap.* 21. 4. as also by comparing the 2 *verse* and the 12, with *Revel.* 16. 19, &c. and *chap.* 18. *ver.* 2. 10. 18. 19. Now here it is prophesied concerning the deliverance of the Church from the persecution of enemies, *ver.* 3. 4. 5. concerning the destruction of the enemies thereof, *vers.* 10, 11. and namely, the destruction of the City of *Rome*, *ver.* 2 and 12. Lastly, concerning the joy of the Church, being now delivered from them that persecuted her, *vers.* 1. 6, 7, 8, 9. And here you must take notice, That by *Moab*, or the *Moabites*, the enemies of the Church of the New Testament are signified, and indeed those, who are joyned unto true *Christians*, by the bond of the name *Christian*, as the *Moabites* were joyned to the *Jews* by the bond of Consanguini-

ty, whom notwithstanding they persecuted with most hostible mindes and affections.

The 19 place is *Isai.* 26. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. where part of that *song* is set down, wherewith the *Jews* were to praise God for their deliverance from the *Babylonian* Captivity; wherewith the *Christians* also were to praise him for their deliverance from the Tyranny of *Antichrist*; as may be gathered from the comparing of *Revel.* 14. 8. and *chap.* 18. 2. with the 5 and 6 *verses* of this *Chapter.*

The 20 place is *Isai.* 27. That this Chapter doth treat of the Conversion of the *Jews*; this may serve for a most certain Argument, because the Apostle alleadgeth some part of the 9 *verse*, Rom 11. 27. consider also diligently the two last *verses.*

The 21 is *Isai.* 33. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Where the City it self *Hierusalem*, so commonly called, cannot be understood, by reason that after this Prophesie it was overthrown by the *Romans.* Therefore the Church of the New Testament is signified, which every where in the Prophesies of *Isaiah* is mystically and typically, or metaphorically called *Hierusalem.* Now the things prophesied concerning it are *Peace, Defence* against enemies, and *Victory.* All which have not yet happened; and therefore certainly shall.

The 22 place is *Isai.* 34. from the 1 to the 18 *verse.* Where you may collect that a Prophesie is here contained of the overthrow of the enemies of the New Testament, by comparing the 4 *verse* with *Revel.* 6. 14. and the tenth *verse* with *Revel.* 19 3. and the 11 *verse* with *Revel.* 18. 2. Now by the *Edomites*, the false brethren of true *Christians* are set forth; and by *Bozrah*, the chief City of *Edom, Rome*, the chief City of *Antichrist*, is figured out, whose ruine is most feelingly described in the 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 *verses.*

The 23 place is *Isai.* 43. the whole Chapter. The discourse whereof is concerning the conversion of the *Jews.* Especially consider the 5 and 6 *verses. I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather thee from the West. I will say to the* NORTH, *Give up; and to the South, Keep not back: Bring my sons from* farre, *and my daughters from the* ends of the earth.

The 24 place is *Isai.* 45. 22. and 25. *Look unto me, and be ye*

saved

saved all the ends of the earth. 25. *In the Lord shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.* This is spoken of the Universall vocation of the *Gentiles*, and *Jews*: which two things have not yet come about.

The 25 is *Isai.* 49. 24. 25, 26. Which words agree with the foregoing Propheſie of the calling of the *Gentiles*, from the 18 *ver.* and therefore are to be interpreted of the Church under the Goſpel, which complains of the power of her perſecutors, *ver* 24. and is ſtrengthned again by Chriſt with promiſe of deliverance, *verſe* 25. and with threats of the ruine of thoſe which perſecuted her, *ver.* 26. Compare *Revel.* 16.6.

The 26 *place* is *Isai.* 54. 14, 15, 16, 17. That this Propheſie doth ſpeak of the Church of the New Teſtament, is from hence made plain, by reaſon that in this chapter a Propheſie is contained concerning thoſe benefits which God would beſtow upon the faithfull under the Goſpel, whereto it makes alſo, That Chriſt, *Joh.* 6. 45, alleadgeth the firſt part of the 13 *verſe*. Now in this place of the *Prophet* cited by us is contained a Prediction of the defence of the *Chriſtian* Church againſt enemies, which is not yet fulfilled.

The 27 place is *Isai.* 59. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, That here alſo is contained a Propheſie of the Church under the Goſpel, appears by comparing the 16 *verſe* with *chap.* 63. 5. as alſo the 20 verſe with *Rom.* 11. 26. Now there are three members of this Propheſie: One of the deſtruction of the enemies of the Church, which ſhall happen before the converſion of the *Jews*, *verſ.* 16, 17, 18, 19. Another of the Majeſty or glory which ſhall accrew to the Church by the ruine of her adverſaries, *verſ.* 19. *When the enemy ſhall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord ſhall lift up a Standard againſt him.* The third is of the converſion of the *Jews*, *verſ.* 20, 21.

The 28 place is *Isai.* 60. Which whole chapter treats of the happineſſe which is yet to accrew to the Church of the Goſpel, as will appear to them that conſider of it.

The 29 place is *Isai.* 63. the firſt ſix verſes. It will be made plain to any one, that this Propheſie doth ſpeak of the deliverance of the Church of the New Teſtament from the miniſters and follow-

lowers of *Antichrist*, if he do but compare it with *Revel.* 14. 19, 20. and *chap.* 19. 13, and 15. Who are signified by the *Edomites*, and *Bozrah*, appears by looking back to the 22 place.

The 30 place is *Jerem.* 16. 14, to the end. This Prophesie discourseth of the conversion of the *Jews*, *ver.* 15. *The Lord liveth, that brought up the Children of Israel from the Land of the* NORTH, *and from all the Lands whither he had driven them: and I will bring them again into their Land which I gave to their fathers.* Also concerning the vocation of the *Gentiles*, *ver.* 19. *The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity, and* things wherein there is *no profit.*

The 31 place is *Jerem.* 23. 3. where the conversion of the *Jews* is treated of.

The 32 place is *Jerem.* 33. *ver.* 3. and the following. *For lo, the dayes come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the Captivity of my people Israel, and Judah.* And a little after, *But they shall serve the Lord their God, and* David their King; or as the *Chaldee* Paraphrase hath it, *Christ, the son of* David *their King.* Behold again a most sweet prophesie of the conversion of the *Jews!*

The 33 place is *Jerem.* 31. 1, 3. Where in like manner the conversion of the Jews is prophesied of. See *Henrmius* in his Book formerly cited by us.

Heurn. de legat. Evang fol. 157 & Seqq. Item fol. 165.

The 34 place is *Jerem.* 31. 31, 32, 33, 34. That a Prophesie concerning the Church of the Gospel is contained in this place, may be perceived by the alleadging thereof in *Matth.* 3. 18. and in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *chap.* 8. 8. Now the conversion of the Jews is there promised, in as much as God promiseth the people of *Israel*, that he would make a new Covenant with them, by means of which he would forgive their sins, and write his Law in their hearts. Which conversion of the Jews is not yet brought to passe, because since the *Gospel* began to be preached, the greatest part of the Jews have continued in unbelief. Wherefore it shall be brought to passe in it's good time.

The 35 place is *Jerem.* 32. 37, 39. *Behold, I will gather them out of all Countries, whither I have driven them in mine anger. And I will give them one heart, and one way, that they may fear me for*

for ever. Here again is promised the conversion of the Jews; which alike belongs to the happy condition of the Church of the *New Testament.*

The 26 place is *Ezek.* 36. 26, and the following. Where the Prophet saith, that it should come to passe, that God would *give them a new heart, and put a new spirit within them.* By which words no doubt the conversion of the Jews is signified; which having not been, it remains it shall be.

The 37 place is *Dan.* 11. 33, 34. *And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many dayes. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen by a little help.* This Prophesie is to be understood according to the letter, of the affliction and deliverance of the Church in the time of *Antiochus*, and the *Maccabees*; typically and mystically of the affliction and deliverance of the Church under *Antichrist.* Which deliverance indeed is part of the happinesse of the Church under the Gospel. Now that *Antiochus* was a type of *Antichrist*, appears by comparing *Dan.* 11. 36, and 2 *Thess.* 2. 4.

The 38 place is *Dan.* 11. 44, 45. *But rumors out of the East, and out of the North shall trouble him. Therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.* These *three* things are unfolded in this Prophesie: 1. The *Protasis*, or *beginning* of these tumults, wherewith *Judea* in old time, and *Europe* at this day is most grievously affected. 2. The *Epitasis*, or *busie part*, so wondrous full of troubles and contention. 3. Lastly, the *Catastrophe*, or *issue*, of these tumults, so much desired, and wished for by the Church. How every one of these severally are fulfilled in *Antiochus*, as a type of *Antichrist*, it is nothing pertinent to our purpose to enquire. Neither indeed is the matter so obscure, or unknown. Let us examine how they will suit with *Antichrist.* The *Protasis*, or *first Act*, as they say, is in these words: *At length rumors from the East, and from the North shall trouble him.* The *rumour* from the East sounded loud in the year of Christ CIↃ. CCCC. LIII. when *Constantinople*

was

was taken: also in the year, CIↃ. CCCC. LXXXI. when * *Gedaices* the *Bassa* broke into *Italy*. The same rumour was renewed, when the House of *Othoman*, having quite overthrown the *Sultans* power, turned his Arms the second time upon *Europe*; and taking [a] *Belgrade*, and the Island [b] *Rhodes*, began to invade the Territories of the *Latine Church*. This rumor from the *East*, was followed with a rumor from the *North*, in the yeer of Christ, * CIↃ. IↃ. XVII, and so forward. The *Epitasis*, or *busie part*, is in these: *Therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the Tabernacles of his Palace between the Seas in the glorious holy mountain.* At this day *Antichrist* in the performance thereof, goes on under full Sail, wanting no favour of windes. For after he was troubled with the *rumor* out of the North, with great and high Spirit he assaulted all them who either began this rumour, or since favoured it, or do at this time any way cherish it. Neither doth he slack in these his attempts; for he hath destroyed, and utterly made away with many of Gods people. Moreover he hath *planted* the Tabernacles of his Palace *between the Seas in the glorious holy mountain*, that is, He hath propagated his Religion among those people, who had a long time professed the purity of Religion. But it is well that the *Catastrophe*, or *last act*, is not answerable to the *Epitasis*, or *middle part* of the Tragedy. This brave *Planter* in the midst of his *Plantation*, will have some unlucky chance befall him. For when *he shall come to his end, none shall help him.* On the *Alps Greece*, sudden a tempest shall arise, which shall bring shipwrack upon

* *Hydruntum in Apuliam ut ait Cesii millib. Christianorum.*

[a] *Belgrade* taken by *Solyman*, A. 1522. It is placed by *Pliny* in the utmost bounds of *Pannonia*. So called in the declining time of the Easterne Empire. Βελίγραδα *Constantino Porphyrogen de Administr. Imp. cap.* 40.

Of late also called *Alba Graeca*, but most

ancientlyTaurunum, as appears by old Coins found there, mentioned by *Busbequius*, *Epist. Turcica*. In *Antonius* the name is corrupted in some Copies to *Aurisium*, in others *Taurisium*; as it is likewise in *Ptolomie*, where you have Ταύρυγος, for Ταύρουνον. Plurima autem apud *Ptolemaeum* corrupta Urbium nostratium nomina, item apud *Antonium*, in Ora quæ ad Britanniam pertinent Itineribus fœde inserta loca, atque pessimè à librariis habita, restituta, & nostris Annotationibus explicata, publico, jamdudum exhibuissemus, nisi dulcissimæ patriæ intestinæ tubæ paratam editionem prævortissent. Deus malorum, quod immaneis everruncet. γοῦν γοῦν. [b] *Rhodes* also taken by *Solyman*, An. 1523. cum 400 triremibus, & 200000 hominum. * Renascentibus bonis literis Religionis etiam restitutio contigit CIↃ. IↃ. XVII. *Lutherο* per Germaniam *Leges* & Indulgentias impugnante.

this

this bold Steers-man. But see more of this in *Conradus Graserus* his *History of Antichrist*. *Conradus Graserus.*

The 39. place is *Dan.* 12. 1. *And at that time shall* Michael *stand up, the great Prince which standeth for the children of thy people, and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a Nation, even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found Written in the book.* I interpret this prophesie of the last persecution, or the warre of *Gog* and *Magog*, which shall immediately go before the last Judgement. I am perswaded hereto by these *two* Reasons. 1. Because the time of *this trouble* is said to be such, *as hath not been* * *since there was a Nation.* Which Note of time cannot agree with any persecution, but that which was most grievous; such as was that of *Gog*. 2. Because in the 2. *verse* of this *Chapter*, after that time of *trouble*, *vers.* 1. the Resurrection, and the last Judgement are immediately treated of. * Matth. 24. 21. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως. Mar. 13 19 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἣν ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς.

The 40 place is *Dan.* 12. 11, 12. *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination, that maketh desolate, set up, there shall be a* thousand two hundred *and* ninety *dayes. Blessed is he that waiteth, and commeth to the* thousand three hundred *and* five *and* thirty *dayes.* Here these words; *But from the time*, &c. are to be understood of the last destruction of the City *Hierusalem* by *TITUS*: because then the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the * *abomination* of desolation was set up, as appears by comparing this place with the 9. *chap.* of *Daniel*, *vers.* 26, 27. Again, propheticall *dayes* are here to be understood, that is, *years*: Because these *dayes* are *homogeneall*, or of the *same kinde* with the *weeks*, *chap.* 9. But those *weeks* are propheticall; therefore also these dayes. Now *Daniel* carries us on to the end of the world, by proposing *two Periods*, or *limited times* of the *New Testament*, and by joyning them to his *seventy weeks*, in this manner. The 70. weeks are terminated with the destruction of the City, that is, with the year of *Christ*, 69. Here begins the *Epocha*, or *account* of 1290 *dayes*, that is, of so many years: So shall we come to * Some refer this to the Statue of Adrian the Emperour placed in the Temple, and taken away from thence by those Iews who escaped from the destruction of the City by *Titus*. See Suidas in Βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἔστηκε τὸ ἀνάθημα τῆς ἐρημώσεως. Ἐπειδὴ Ἅδριανὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀπεκορυφώθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐπὶ τοῦτο, &c.

the year of *Christ* * 1359. At which we must begin the *Epocha* of 1335 dayes, or years: And so we shall be brought to the year of Christ [b] 2694. in which the *Thousand* years in the *Revelation* shall have end: and they being ended the warre of *Gog* and *Magog* shall begin, to which also the last *Judgement* shall put an end. See more in my *Thesaurus Chronologicus pag.* 51[c]. Compare also the *Annotations* of *Lucas Osiander* on *Daniel* 12.

a 1359 Quo tempore incipient pii contradicere impietati Antichristianæ quæ tum ad tempus aliquod perdurabit, verùm ita, ut semper sint futuri pii, qui se opponant voce, scriptis, martyrio. Et sine usque ab hoc anno ad hanc ætatem id egregiè, & mirandâ fiducia fecerunt. Nam circa An 1359. *Petrarcha* qui obiit 1374 *Taulerus* qui ob. 1379. *Wiclefus* qui ob. 1387. cæperunt in os contradicere Antichristo Romano. *Alsted. Chronol. Par.* 12. Sect. 9.

b Subduc annos mille, relinquitur A. Ch. 1694 Epocha millenarii Apocalyptici juxta *Alsted.*

c Perhaps the number is falsè printed. In the edit. 1637. (which I use) it is pag. 146.

The 41 place is *Hos.* 1. 11. *Then shall the Children of* Judah, *and the children of* Israel *be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the Land; for great shall be the day of* Jezreel. This truely is not yet brought to pass.

The 42 place is *Hos.* 3. 4, 5. *For the Children of* Israel *shall abide many dayes without a* King, *and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and without an Image, and without an Ephod, and without* * *Teraphim. Afterward shall the Children of* Israel *turn, and seek the Lord their God, and* David *their King, and shall fear the Lord, and his goodnesse in the latter dayes.* The *Chaldee* Paraphrase turns it thus: *A long time the Children of* Israel *shall remain without a King of the posterity of* David, *neither shall there be any to bear rule in* Israel, *or to perform acceptable sacrifice to God in* Hierusalem: *Neither shall there be any Statue in* Samaria, *neither any Ephod, or Prophet. Afterward the* Israelites *shall be turned, and they shall be diligent in the Worship of the Lord their God, and they shall obey* CHRIST *the Sonne of* David, *their* King; *and they shall yield themselves to the worship of the Lord, and then his goodnesse shall be*

* This word *Teraphim*, (I observe it by the way for them, who meeting with it in this, and other places, know not what to make of it) which by the LXX. *Interp.* is rendred *Gen.* 31. 19. *Idola, images. Jud.* 17. 5. *Deposuit Teraphim, & sanctificavit unum ex filiis suis, ut esset ei sacerdos.* 18. 14. *Idola, representations of a dead man, or woman, they were usually made, saith Procopius, as Theodoret interprets it, by the same counsel with which they expected Oracles. Ezek.* 21. 26. *Because the high Priest had in the breast-plate of Judgement the Oracle, and the full discussion of what was to come. Moses blessing the Holy tribe for their zeal, Vrim and Thummim were given. Deut.* 33 8. See the Incomparable Selden's *Jurisdict. Syriæ. cap.* 2.

infinite, which shall happen unto them in the last dayes. This Prophesie, above all that can be said, the antient Interpreters in generall do expound concerning the Conversion of the *Jews*, in the end of the world, to the *Christian* faith. And indeed the words are very plain: Because the *Israelites*, which were carried away captives by *Salmanassar* and scattered into severall Countries, are prophesied of that they shall return to God, and to *David* their *King*, that is, CHRIST, whose type *David* was. Which returning of theirs, seeing it hath not yet been, it is certain that in it's own time it shall be. Now this belongs to the happinesse of the Church under the Gospel, which the *Revelation* defines in the *Period*, or *limited time* of a *Thousand years*.

The 43 place is *Joel* 3. 1, 2. and from the 9. to the 14. Which Propheſie, that it speaks concerning the Church of the New Testament, appears plainly by comparing the 13. *verse* with *Revel.* 14. the 15. 19. and 20. *verses*. Now what is here spoken of the *Valley of Jehoshaphat*, is to be taken mystically, or typically. For as God in old time, in the Valley of *Jehoshaphat* overthrew the *Ammonites*, and the *Moabites*, and that by his Angels. 2 *Chron.* 20. so in his good time he will slay the enemies of the Church in a like place, which *Revel.* 16. 16. is called *Armageddon*. This also maketh hereto, That the Valley of *Jehoshaphat* is called *the Valley of threshing*, because the *Moabites*, and the *Ammonites* were, as it may be said, threshed by the Angel of God in that place; by whose threshing the destruction of the enemies of *Christs* Church is signified, *Isaiah* 25. 10.

Theodor. in locum. *Hac quidem Zorobabel attribuunt: ego autem ea existimo. Prophetia autem eiusmodi omnibus temporibus competit promissionem, & omnes gentes respicientes Deum, ad hunc finem Zorobabel promisse fuisse.*

The 44 place is *Amos* 9. 14, 15. *I will bring again the Captivity of my people* Israel: *and they shall build the waste Cities, and inhabite them. And I will plant them upon their Land, they shall no more be pulled up out of their Land.* Which Propheſie speaks of the Conversion of the *Jews*.

The 45 place is *Mich.* 2. 12. *I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel.* As if he should say; I will gather unto the *Messias*, that blessed seed of *Abraham*, and full store-house of *Benedictions*, all and every tribe, as they are the seed of *Jacob*.

The 46 place is *Mich.* 4. The whole Chapter contains a Propheſie

pheſie of the Church under the Goſpel, as may be gathered from theſe words, *In the laſt times*, or *In the end of dayes*, *verſ.*1. Alſo from the deſcription of the Vocation of the Gentiles, *Verſ.*1,2,3. Compare with this place, *Iſai.*2. But beſides the Propheſie of the calling of the Gentiles, *Verſ.*1,2,3. which by the preaching of the Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors was accompliſhed, here is alſo contained a propheſie of the happy condition of the Church, which yet remains to be fulfilled: namely, concerning the Peace of the Church, in the end of *third*, and 4 *Verſe*. Then of the Converſion of the *Jews*, *Verſ.*5,6,7. Of the *Majeſty*, and glory of the Church, *Verſ.*8. Laſtly, Of the *victory* of the Church, which it ſhall gain over it's enemies. *Verſ.*9. and the following.

The 47 place is *Mich.*5.7. and the following; where he treateth of the Converſion of the *Jews*.

The 48 place is *Zephan.*3.9. *I will turn to the people a* pure Language, *that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, &c.* to the end. Here is contained a threefold propheſie. 1. Of the calling of the *Gentiles*, which was done by the preaching of the *Apoſtles*, *Verſ.*9.10. 2. Of the Converſion of the *Jews*. From the 11. to the 20. 3. Of the deſtruction of the enemies of the Church. *Ver.* 14. to theſe words, *Verſ.*19. *I will ſave her that halteth, &c.*

The 49 place is *Zepha.*3.10. *From beyond the rivers of* Ethiopia *my ſuppliants, even the daughter of my diſperſed ſhall bring mine offering.* The *Chaldee* thus expreſſeth it: *From the Countries beyond the Rivers of* INDIA *by my mercy the baniſhed of my people, which were carried away, ſhall return, and they ſhall bring them as Offerings.*

The 50 place is *Zach.*2.10. and the following. It appears plainly, That this propheſie ſpeaks of the Church of the New Teſtament, by the 10. and 11. *Verſ.* where the Jews are commanded to go out of the *Babylonian* captivity, which was now at that time finiſhed. Whence it is gathered, that mention is made here of the myſticall *Babylon*, *Revel.* 18.4. Now here is promiſe made to the faithfull under the Goſpel of their protection againſt their enemies; Alſo of the Converſion of the *Gentiles*, and of the *Jews*; and of their joy which ſhall ariſe from the defence and dwelling of God with them.

The 51 place is *Zach.*12.1. to the end. It may hence be perceived that the propheſie in this Chapter doth ſpeak of the Church of the

N.T.

* So *Symmachus* χείλη μαθήσεως. But *Aquila* & *Theodot.* χεῖλος ἑτέρας, a *theſis* Language. * μεθέρμηνευμένων τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα. *Sym.*

N. T. because experience it self oppoſeth the litterall ſence here, in the 2. *verſ.* and following, concerning the protection of *Hieruſalem*. For from the time of this propheſie, which was publiſhed to the *Jews* newly returned from *Babylon*, the City was not ſo protected, as is here promiſed; but contrarywiſe overthrown by the *Romans*. Whence it plainly appears that by *Hieruſalem* here is myſtically underſtood the Church of the New Teſtament. Which myſticall manner of ſpeaking is not unuſuall in ſuch kind of propheſies. Now of the Church of the N. T. partly the victory thereof which it ſhall gain over Antichriſt is declared; partly the Converſion of the Jews. Compare *Revel.* 19. 11. and following *verſes*.

Matt. 17. 12. As well the old Jewiſh Church, as the Chriſtian, believed that *Elias* ſhould be therefore. Forrunner of the Day of Judgement as appears by *Tertull. de Jejun.* cap. 12. As *John* was forerunner of Chriſts firſt coming, ſo *Elias* of his laſt. The Jews talk idlely of reſtoring his ſoul to his body. What need that, ſeeing he was taken up into Heaven with both?

The 52 place is *Zach.* 14. 6. and following. It may be from this manifeſtly underſtood that this propheſie is of the Church of the N. T. in that our experience contradicts the ſenſe of the letter concerning the plague wherewith God *would ſmite all the people that fought againſt* Hieruſalem, *verſ.* 12, 13, 14. when as from the time of this propheſie the enemies of *Hieruſalem* were never ſtrucken with ſuch a plague; nay, on the contrary, it ſelf was overthrown by the *Romans*. It remains therefore that by *Hieruſalem* we underſtand the Church of the N. T. whoſe enemies ſhall be puniſhed with no ſingle plague, but many, as is here ſeverally expreſſed. Here then the deſtruction of the enemies of the Church of the *New T.* is propheſied of: and moreover the illumination, and enlargement thereof; of which in the 6. 7. and following *verſes*.

The 53 place is *Malach.* 3. 19, 20, 21. according to others, *chap.* 4. 1, 2, 3. That this propheſie ſpeaks of the Church of the New Teſtament is clear out of theſe words; *The Sun of righteouſneſſe ſhall ariſe*. Now two things are promiſed here to the Church of the N. T, which are not yet fulfilled; namely, the deſtruction of her enemies, *v.* 19. and her own deliverance from perſecution.

The 54. place is *Mal.* 4. 4, 5. Where the coming of *Elias* is ſpoken of, *Before the great and terrible day of the Lord come*. Which propheſie indeed hath a double fulfilling: one, in *John* the *Baptiſt*; another, in ſome other great perſon, who is yet to come. This

Tertullian de anima, cap. 35. ſaith *Elias* ſhall come, *Non ex deceſſuri vita, ſed ex tranſitione, nec ex ejus conditionem, de qua non eſt exemptus, ſed mundo reddendum, de qua eſt tranſlatus.* Quod ut verè à divinitus dictum; ſaith the learned *Joſ. Scaliger.*

appears thus: Christ teacheth us, *Mat.* 11 & 17 Chapters, that this Prophesie was fulfilled in *John* the *Baptist*, to wit, in regard of his zeal and fervency. But what else is spoken concerning *Elias*, both in *Malachy* and *Matthew*, doth not suit with *John* the *Baptist*. For *Malachy* saith, *Matth.* 17. 11. That *Elias* should *restore all things* which *John* the *Baptist* did not. Therefore we must necessarily determine, That this Prophesie will have a double fulfilling. Whereto belongs that also of * *Augustine*. Elias *shall restore all*, that is, *in the end he shall confirm the Saints troubled by the persecution of Antichrist*. And the rest of the *Fathers* also have thus interpreted *Malachy*. *Theodoret* in his *Commentary*, writes thus of this place: *He speaks of his second coming; and he likewise teacheth us what the great* Elias *shall do, when he shall come*. And a little after; *Elias shall first come; and he will perswade you, O Jews, That, without doubting, you would be joyned to the faithfull of the Gentiles, and be brought together into my Church being become one*.

The 55 place is *Matth.* 23. 39. Where Christ speaks thus to the unthankfull *Jews*: *For I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*. By which words Christ declares, That at length the *Jews* should see him, not meaning in the last Judgement, but before it; because at the last Judgement they shall not cry out unto him, *Blessed, &c.* (for then they shall tremble, that have not been converted unto him) but at that time, when he shall shew himself to them, that he may convert them to the true faith.

The 56 place is *Mat.* 24. 14. *And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in the whole World, for a witnesse unto all Nations; and then shall the end come*. See now, before the last Judgement the *Judaic*

* De consideratione Evangel. lib. 2 cap. 21. *Theodoret* in his own language (not yet printed) out of the *M.* of the publike Library in *Oxford* is this: Ἵνα τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιστροφὴν ἀναμένωμεν. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ μέλλουσα Ἠλίου παρουσία. Παῦλος φησὶ. Ἕξει πρόθεσιν Ἠλίας, καὶ τῆς ἰουδαίων ἐμοὶ πίστεως ἀναπείσει, ἵνα δὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναπείσῃ, τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύσαντας, τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς συναφθῆναι, καὶ μίαν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι.

Where by the way take notice, That in this *Ms.* the ἐξηγήσεις upon *Hosea*, *Habakuk*, *Joseph*, *Nahum*, *Micah*, are *Theodoretus*: the ὑπομνήματα upon the other xii are *Theodorets*. When as the printed Latine of *Petr. Gillius* (whose Translation *Alstad* made use of) they all go under *Theodorets* name. And yet which I wonder at) the Inscription of the Greek Copy in the beginning of the book is Ἐπιτομὴ Ἀγαθηνικοῦ Βοκχίας σοφωτάτου ἐξηγήσεως εἰς δώδεκα προφήτας. I owe the Transcription to my learned and worthy friend Mr. Henry Lumley of *Oxford*.

them.

themselves, and others which yet acknowledge not JESUS CHRIST, shall be brought unto the Church?

The 57 place is *Luk.* 21. 24. *And they* (the Jews) *shall fall with the edge of the sword, and shall be led captives into all Nations, and* Hierusalem *shall be trampled on by the Nations, untill the times of the Gentils shall be fulfilled.* This place shall receive light from the next following. Our Saviour here teacheth us, that the Jews shall be vexed along time by the Gentiles; and that being ended, they shall be converted to the Faith.

The 58 place is *Rom.* 11. 25, 26, 27. The Apostle teacheth us in this place, that the Jews should so long remain in their blindenesse and calamity, till the fulnesse of the Gentiles should come in, that is, till the rest of the Nations of the world should flow in unto the Gospel. For then it should come to passe, that all *Israel* should be saved. And this he calls a * *Mystery*, and that not unfitly. For this is that Prophetical all *Secret* so often prested by the *Prophets*; of which *Paul* would not have the Gentiles ignorant, lest they should despise the Jews, as cast off for ever.

* See Dr Prideaux Orat. de Vocatione Judæorum. Sect. 6. concerning this place.

The 59 place is 2 *Cor.* 3. 15. *Therefore unto this very day when* Moses *is read, the Veil is upon their heart. Neverth less when they shall turn themselves unto the Lord, the Veil shall be taken away.* The Apostle here teacheth us two things concerning the *Jews*: 1. That their *minds* * *were blinded*, as he speaks in the foregoing verse. 2. That at length they are to be converted by the Spirit of Christ.

* Reade, were hardned

The 60 place is *Revel.* 12. 5. *And she brought forth a man-child* (Christ) *who was to rule all Nations with a rod of Iron.* Compare *Psal.* 2. You may gather out of these two places, that Christ shall be Lord and King of all people, Jews and Gentiles, when he shall gather them into his Church, and there feed and rule them.

ויהי בן זכר כל הגוים בשבט ברזל
וירעם בשבט ברזל
Our English Interpreters as well as others, confound these verbs רעה and נצר. But none of the ancients, except Saint Hierom, have ever so done.

The 61 place is *Revel.* 14. 8. Where the ruine of mysticall *Babylon* is declared; which belongs to the happinesse of the Church. But seeing it hath not happened, it shall most surely happen.

The 62 place is *Revel.* 14. 14. to the 21. Where is set down the destruction of the enemies of the Church of the N. Test.

The 63 place is *Revel.* 18, the whole Chapter. Wherein is

(whose authority, as learned men know, in many things is to be suspected) also ought not to blinde. See *Iosh.* 23. 4. *Rom.* 11. 7.

contained

contained a glorious Prophesie concerning the destruction of the the City of *Rome*, and the overthrow of *Antichrist*.

The 64 place is *Revel.* 19. 1, 2, 3. Where in like manner is contained a prophesie of *Rome's* downfall, and *Antichrist's* perdition.

The 65 place is *Revel.* 19. 11. to the end. Where is a clear prophesie of the vanquishing of *Antichrist's* Army.

And these are the testimonies of Scripture, in number * Lvi. in which the happinesse of the Church, whereof we took upon us to treat, is prophesied of, promised, and set forth. I make no doubt, but the attentive reader rather will easily observe a notable harmony, and concent, in these places of Scripture, and from his own private reading adde also others.

* Either *Alsted* forgot himself, or else the Printer overlaw the 43. *Plate* in this number. For that being left out, as it appears it is, there are in all but Lvi.

The *third Classis* of Arguments.

THis *Classis*, or rank of Arguments affords certain reasons, and the consent of some learned men.

Reasons, or Consequences.

I. All persecutors of the Church have at length been punished by God. Therefore at length the great *Antichrist* also, shall certainly be punished. The Antecedent, or foregoing proposition is proved partly from the nature of God, partly by Induction of examples.

II. After long and grievous persecutions the *Church* hath ever felt some rest and refreshment here on earth: Therefore also she shall have some breathing time after the persecution of *Antichrist*, and that here upon earth; because God himself hath made her such a promise.

III. *Where the ayde of man failes, there the assistance of God begins*; as *Philo* the *Jew* said long agoe both quiendy, and piously. This is most certainly witnessed by the examples of the Church of the *Old T.* miraculously delivered out of the *Egyptian* bondage, *Exod.* 12. and 14. by the deliverance of *Hierusalem* from the siege of *Sennacherit*, 2 *Kin.* 19. by the deliverance from the hostile

Philo Judæus lib. [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]

invasion

invasion of the *Ethiopians* under King *Asa*. 2 *Chro.*14. by deliverance from the invasion of the *Moabites and Ammonites*, under King *Jehosaphat*. 2 *Chron.*20. And lastly, by deliverance from the oppression of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. 1 *Mac.* 1. *and following chapters*. Adde unto these divers examples of the Church of the N. T. which, when it's condition hath been granted as desperate, and quite lost, hath had deliverance by the * unexpected handy-work of God. See the *Ecclesiasticall History* at large. From hence we may very well gather, that the Church, at this time oppressed on every hand, and left destitute of all humane assistance, shall by the power of God be asserted, and vindicated, when *Antichrist*, in the full course and *carrére* of his happyness, shall little think of any such matter.

* ἀπὸ μηχανῆς.

IV. The downfall of *Antichrist*, and the binding of *Satan* for a thousand years, do without any intermission meet together. It is very probable therefore, That the beginning of these thousand years is at hand. For Antichrist, at that very time, wherein he shall make the greatest boast of his victories, shall suddenly fall. *Revel.*18. 7, 8.

V. The severall *Phaenomena*, or *Apparitions* in the Heavens; namely, new Starres, and Cometes; also Earthquakes, and the like, taken notice of in these latter times, do without doubt portend and manifestly foretell some notable, and extraordinary change.

See Your Ethick Judgement concerning this last Revolution of the *Fiery Trig.* on which you have in the beginning of this book.

VI. The *Period* or *limited time*, for the Kingdom of Antichrist to continue, is almost expired, and at an end, as appears by the *Revelation* and *History*.

VII. *Daniel* chap.12. declares an end of his prophesie, when he expressely sets down, that 2625. years shall be finished after the end of his Lxx. Weeks, that is from the year of Christ 69. which years, if they be added to the other, the sum of 2694. years is made up. In which current of time all things shall happen out, which are foretold, except the last Judgement, and what follows thereon. Wherefore if from 2694. years, 1000 be subducted, we shall come by the year of Christ 1694. In this year then, or sooner our THOUSAND years shall take their beginning.

The consent of *Godly*, and *learned Men*.

Esdras. IN the forefront we place the fourth book of *Esdras*. For there many passages occurre concerning the conversion of the Jews, and the deliverance of the Church of the N. T. from Antichrist. Especially, That is a notable place, *Chap.* 13. 39, 40. *And where as thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him. Those are* tenne Tribes, *which were* * *carried away prisoners out of their own Land, in the time of* Hoshea *the King*. What the same Author writes concerning the *Eagle*, and *Lion*, is severally expounded by severall interpreters.

* Whither these ten Tribes were carryed is at this day a great question. *Esdras* tells us that they entred *Euphrates* by the narrow passages of the River, and so travelled a vast Country of a year and halfs journey; and that the Countryes called *Arsareth*.

Out of the *Sibylls* also some things are brought about the downfall of *Antichrist*, and the happy estate which the world shall enjoy after that shall come to passe. Very much mention is made of that; *Rome shall become a street, or high way.*

All the *Fathers* were of this opinion, that *Elias* should come, and restore all things.

"Some, *as you may see in* Alfonsus Conradus *in his Commentary* "*on the Revelation*, between the coming of Christ in the flesh, and "his coming in Majesty, do maintain a certain middle coming, "which they call his coming in the power and efficacy of his "Spirit, to destroy the great *Antichrist*, & to reform his Church. "This coming they say shall be in the end of the sixth *Millenary*, or "1000 years; of which coming they make *Enoch* and *Elias* the "forerunners. They say that *Antichrist* shall be destroyed by their "preaching, and his Kingdom abolished. After whose downfall "peace shall be granted to the Church, and *Satan* shall be bound, "so that he shall not be able to disturbe the tranquillity thereof. "Now this peace and happy progresse of the Church they say

I finde indeed in *Ptolemy lib.* 5. Ἀρσαρεθα, a City of the Greater *Armenia*, not farre from the place where *Araxes* exposeth it self into the *Caspian* Sea: Perhaps an Israelitish Colony. But how all this can stand good compared with 2 *Kings.* 17. 6. and *Geography* it self, *videant ii qui vacant otiosis.* See Doctor *Reinold. De libris Apocryphis, ad locum.* Brerewoods Enquir. *cap.* 13. The Sibylls. Βίβλοι μὲν ἐσμὲν ἑβδόμης ἀνάγνωσις. The *Sibylls* reckon thus. Καὶ Σάμος ἑπτὰ ἔτη, καὶ Δῆλος ἑπτά, καὶ Ῥώμη ἑπτά.---The former verse in *Tagliabuens* Latin is *Nulla jam Delos, hæreat Samos, ut Sibyllæ non mendax.* Lib. de Pallio. Vide *Ioan. Obsopæi* edit. Sibyll. Carminum. Gr. Lat. Parisiis.

shall

"shall last for the whole *seventh Millenary*, till the last time of
"her troubles, by the persecution of the Nations *Gog* and *Magog*;
"because Satan, who they say, shall then be set at liberty, shall
"stirre them up against the Godly.

From hence it appears, That our opinion concerning these 1000 years is not new, and unheard of.

Alfonsus Conradus of *Mantua* in his Commentary on the *Revelation*, published at *Basil. An.* 1574. writeth as followeth. *Alfonsus Conradus Mantuanus.*

IN his *Preface*. "This one thing perchance will offend the ears
"of some, because I seem to promise a more plentifull peace to
"the Church, then that likenesse of the Crosse will allow of, to
"which in this world it must be made conformable to Christ it's
"head. But let them bethink themselves, I entreat them, that
"this is not so contrary to the Scripture, that it should be objected
"against me, or laid to my charge, as fit to be reckoned in the
"number of those, which are termed either impious, or absurd;
"Especially, when as I cannot perceive, by what means that
"happinesse, which *John* writes the Church shall enjoy, *Satan* be-
"ing bound, can be made good, except we acknowledge some
"rest of the Church, her enemies being overthrown. Which I
"think indeed ever happened, as often as the enemies of God's
"people have been removed out of the way. Now because the ene-
"my which *John* tells us shall be taken away, is more dangerous
"then all that ever yet infested God's people, it ought not to seem
"strange to any one, if, he being once overcome, the Church en-
"joy a more plentifull peace then usually.

"*Upon the 20. Chap. of the Revel. Verse* 1. God being about to
"bestow a more plentifull peace upon his Church, then hitherto
"he had granted to it, it sufficeth him not to have removed out
"of the way the *Beast*, and those Kings of the Earth, with a
"horrible slaughter, who favouring the Beast, had wholly distur-
"bed his Churche's peace, except also he restrain *Satan*, the be-
"ginner of all these mischiefs, So that he may not any more raise
"those usuall contentions and strifes among men. Wherefore the

" *Angel* comes down from Heaven, who repressing the fury of
" Satan, shuts him up in the bottomelesse pit, and there forces
" him to remain so long, as he pleases not to have the peace of the
" Church to be taken away.

And a little after. " Now he binds him, and shuts him up into
" the bottomelesse pit for a *thousand* years, that is, for that whole
" time, wherein God hath determined that the peace of his Church
" shall not be disturbed by Satan. *See more there to this purpose.*

Lucas Osiander. *Lucas Osiander* upon *Daniel.* 12. " I think the end of these
" years will fall in with that time, in which the *Popedome of Rome*
" shall bodily be overturned: although in some mens minds it
" shall hiddenly remain even untill the last day."

Matthæus Cotterius. *Matthew Cotterius* in his continued and demonstrative Exposition of the *Revelation*, upon the 20 *Chap.* " *Satan* began to be tyed
" in bonds, when the restored Truth of the Scriptures began to
" take place on earth, the witnesses being raised, and the dark
" miste of lyes being dispelled. Then shall *Satan* be bound for a
" *thousand* years, which must be expired, before he scatter new
" errours through the world, and by them seduce the Nations.
" This, this is the imprisonment; this is the liberty, or setting free
" of Satan.

In the same place upon verse. 2. " But when began Satan to be
" bound? In the year 1517. when the *witnesses* were raised. From
" that time ALL people generally have not drunk any new poy-
" son of heresie, which might weaken, or overturn their faith."

In the same place. To 1517. adde 1000. years. " So you shall
" make 2517. at which time Satan shall again draw the Nations
" into abominable heresies."

In this Exposition of *Cotterius*, the *thousand* years are rightly urged according to the letter. But his *Epocha*, or beginning of his account is not well placed in the year 1517. For then began only the *praludium*, or *proeme*, of this Millenary.

Joannes Piscator. *John Piscator* in his Commentary on the *Revelation*. " The happynesse of the faithfull, who shall live upon earth after the down-
" fall of the Papacy, is their security from the hostile invasions of
" the wicked for 1000 years.

In the same place. " The singular happynesse of the *Martyrs* of
" Christ

"Christ, who before these *thousand* years indured persecution, is "their Resurrection which shall be before the generall Resurrecti-"on, and their *reign in Heaven* with Christ *for a thousand years* "before the Resurrection of the rest.

In this Exposition the literall interpretation is rightly urged. But that he sayes the Martyrs shall reign with Christ *in Heaven* for those thousand years, cannot be proved out of the Text. Nay, the contrary may thence be proved; because the Resurrection of the Martyrs is part of the happinesse of the Church here on Earth. Again, The Kingdom which is limited by a certain number of years, cannot suite well with eternall life. See also *Revel.* 5. 10. where the Saints in Heaven among other things, sing thus: *And we shall reign upon the Earth.* But moreover the same *John Piscator* maintains this opinion of the thousand years in his *German* translation of the *Bible*: and a little before his death he wrote a short Treatise *Of the future happinesse of the Church in this life.* Out of which I have made use of many things, which I have transcribed into this *Meditation*; for that *Treatise* of his hath not as yet seen the light.

Ki Canaan imarim ve yesh. On the earth

Io. Piscatoris De futura in terra Ecclesiæ felicitate Tractatus duo, &c.

Many Writers of the former, and this present Age, have published many things concerning *Elias the Artist*, who is to come; Of the *Lion of the North*, who is neer at hand; Of a *fourth Northern Monarchy*; Of a great *Reformation*; Of the *Conversion* of the Jews; and the like. *See* Theophrastus Paracelsus, Michael Sendivogius *in his Treatise of Sulphur*, Stephanus Paunonius *Of the circle of the Works and Judgements of God*; where among other things he writs thus: "*Yet it shall come to passe that the pure* "*Gospel of God shall be preached to the* Americans *before the end of* "*the World.* Again, *Nothing is more sure then that, the Reformati-*"*on of the* East *and* South *drawing on, some famous Emperour, whose* "*types* Constantine, *and* Theodosius, *both entitled* Great, *were,* "*shall openly shew himself, and granting liberty of Religion to them,* "*who professe the name of the Holy Trinity, shall do some great mat-*"*ter in the World, for the glory of God, for the building up of the* "*Church, and for the downfall of* Antichrist. In the same place; "*The* Eastern *Christians fired with the zeal of Christ, shall make* "*their way into* Asia *it self, and provoke the* Jews *to jealousie, Rom.*

Theophrastus Paracelsus. Michael Sendivogius. Stephanus Paunonius.

" 11. *And the spirituall* Babylon *shall be a prey unto all Nations.*

Joannes Dobricius.

" In the same place, *A refining of the Souldiers of God*; *wherein* " *there is mention*, Zach. 13. 8. *that is, temptations, and tryalls shall* " *go before this Reformation, that the light of God may arise out of* " *the Crosse of Christ.* This *Treatise* was published in the year 1608. *John Dobricius* also in the year 1612. did set forth a notable book, entitled Ἑρμηνεὺς καιρῶν, that is, *The Interpreter of times*; wherein, both out *of the Holy* Scripture, and from the new Star which appeared in the year * CD. IDC. IV. and the great Conjunction of the *Planets*, many things are discoursed of concerning the *reformation*, and *future happinesse* of the Church.

* In Stephano De quâ scribit Iom Keplerus; Bavquamos quem vide, & nuperum item, tractatum apud nos editum *Nuncius Prophaticus* inscriptum, *pag.* 14.

Peter du Moulin, in his *French* Book, intituled *Du Combat* " *Christien*: that is, *The Christian Conflict*, *pag.* 256. This perse- " cution is a cruell tempest, which cannot last awayes. Either " it will take us out of the world, or *God will take it away* " *from us.*

Petrus Molinæus.

" *Pag.* 353. Every one hath but a short journey, whereby he " must come to God, and the time is at hand, that we must com- " mit our bodies to the earth, our Souls to God, and *to the Church* " *peace and the blessing of God.* For it shall come to passe even in " our times, that God shall be glorified in the *great Congregation*: " Yea even in those places, where are horrible ruines, the Word " of God shall sound forth, and God shall afford us matter of " praise and thanksgiving.

" *Pag.* 456. After that God shall have shewn us his *deliverances* " *on earth*, he will also shew us his riches in Heaven.

A CONFUTATION

Of the Objections.

1. *Object.* IS taken out of *Matth.* 24. 14. If after the Gospel preached in all the world, the *end* of all things *shall come*, that happinesse of the Church in this world shall not happen out between the end thereof, and the preaching of the Gospel. For the Gospel is already preached through the whole earth. *Answer.* 1. The Consequence is to be denyed: for although this happy-

happinesse do come between, yet it hinders not, but that the end of the world should come after the Gospel preached over the whole earth. *Secondly*, The *pro-syllogisme* is to be denyed, because the Gospel is not already preached over the whole earth.

II. *Object.* Is taken from *Matth.* 24. 29, 30. If presently after the destruction of *Hierusalem* Christ shall come to Judgement, then this happinesse of the Church shall not be before his coming to Judgement. *Answ.* The matter it self speaks, and experience witnesseth, that this word *Immediately*, or *Presently*, is not here properly, or simply to be understood, but hyperbolically, and according to what went before, namely in relation to the foregoing Prophesie concerning the overthrow of the *Jews*, which they were to receive by the destruction of *Hierusalem*; So that this is the meaning; that between this desolation of *Hierusalem*, and the coming of Christ, the *Jews* should receive no other overthrow. *Iubilæus.*

III. *Object.* Is out of the same *Chapter, vers.* 37, 38, 39. If a little before the coming of Christ to Judgement, the State and condition of the world shall be such, as it was in the time of *Noah* before the Deluge; and that such a state of things is to be seen at this day; It may be hence gathered, that such a condition of the Church, as is here described, shall not happen out before the coming of Christ, to wit, in which a great number of believers for a thousand years should worship God. But rather that this coming is at the doors, or else indeed cannot any long time be delayed. *Answ.* With that State of the faithfull, which shall last for a thousand years, the reliques and remainders of those conquered enemies of the Church shall be joyned, who about the end of this *millenary* shall recollect their strengths, and make warre against the faithfull. And then the state of the world shall be such, as it was in the dayes of *Noah*. As in his dayes therefore the deluge came upon the wicked: so these thousand years being finished, the last judgement shall come in the time of the warre of *Gog* and *Magog*. And so it will be brought about, that this prophesie of Christ, notwithstanding that happinesse of the Church, shall be accomplished in those wicked and ungodly men.

IV. *Ob-*

IV. *Object.* Is taken out of *Luke* 18. 8. If at the coming of Christ to Judgement, none, or indeed very few beleevers shall be found in the world, it is not probable that so great a number of beleevers shall be for those thousand years immediately before the coming to Judgement. *Answ.* * Christ doth not mean by these words, that simply he shall finde but a few beleevers on earth, at his coming to Judgement: but a few *in respect* of the enemies of the Church, who then shall make warre with the Saints; The number of which enemies shall be as the Sand of the Sea. *Revel.* 20. 8.

* He shall not finde faith indeed *adeo frequentem in cordibus justificatorum, quam natantem in libris hypocritarum*, as Doctor *Prideaux Orat. de Vocat. Iudæorum*, where he explains this place. Sect. 7.

V. *Object.* Is taken out of the *Acts* 14. 22. We must through many afflictions enter into the Kingdom of God. Therefore the Church in this life shall not be freed from persecution. *Answ.* *Paul* and *Barnabas* speak in this place of the condition of those present times, not denying in the mean while, that there shall be certain times also wherein the Church shall be delivered from persecution; as it happened in the times of *Constantine* the *Great*, *Theodosius*, and others.

VI. *Object.* Is taken out of 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. where the *Apostle* saith, that *the ends of the world were come upon him*, and the other faithfull of that time. Wherefore if the ends of the world were at hand in *Paul's* time, much more are they now at the doors, seeing from that time neer sixteen Ages are expired. Whereupon, it is not probable that a thousand years and more should remain to the end of the world. *Answ.* These words of *Paul* have not this meaning, as if the day of Judgement were then at hand: for he himself rejects this opinion, 2 *Thes.* 2. 2, 3. Thus therefore we must intrepret it; That *Paul* by the * *ends of the world* doth understand the state of the *New Testament*, or the last age of the World, which began from the promulgation of the Gospel over the whole earth, and shall be terminated with Christ's comming to Judgement. Now part of this *Age* are those thousand years, which are not yet begun.

* τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων συνήντηκε, *Seculæ, (per Enallagen pro αἰὼν) in this place, as also in the Hebrews*, chap 1. vers 2. and chapter 11. vers. 3. is used for κόσμος, because in *Hebrew* עולם signifieth both the

VII. *Object.* Is taken out of 2 *Thes.* 2. 8. where the *Apostle* witnesseth that the Lord shall at length consume *Antichrist* by his glorious coming. Wherefore if *Antichrist* shall be consumed by

the coming of Christ to Judgement, he shall not then be consumed a thousand yeers before that his coming. *Answ.* The Apostle speaks of the full and finall consuming of the kingdom of *Antichrist*, whereby it shall come to passe that it shall have end together with the state of this would. Yet in the mean while for these 1000 years there shall alwayes be some reliques of *Antichrist*; which at the end of this *Millenary* shall again gather together their strengths, and shall joyn themselves to the other Nations, to make War against the Saints; and then they shall be finally consumed. *Revel.* 20. 8, 9.

VIII *Object.* Is taken out of 1 *Joh.* 2. 18. Where the Apostle saith, *It is the last time.* *Answ.* *John* by the last time, meaneth the state of the New Testament, or the last Age of the world, of which also these *thousand* years are part. Now the state of the New Testament, from the promulgation of the Gospel thorow the whole world, to the second coming of Christ, is called *The last time*, because it is the last time of *Grace*, after which we must expect no other. For Christ came in the fulnesse of time, and substituted in the place of the Old Testament such Order, and Form of Government, as no other is to be looked for hereafter.

IX *Object.* Is taken out of *Revel.* 19. 20. If this Text be to understood of the last Judgement, it is not therefore to be understood of the downfall of Antichrist, as which shall be before the day of Judgement a thousand years. Now the former Proposition is true; therefore also the latter. The *assumption* is proved: Because there the description of the last Judgement is described; in which close all the foregoing Visions, except the first, are terminated. *Answ.* I deny the *assumption*; because from the following verse, which is joyned to this by a Conjunction Copulative, and by reason of this word, *the rest*, it manifestly appears, That mention is here made of the downfall and destruction of Antichrist and his followers. These are the words; *And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sate upon the horse; which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the Fowls were filled with their flesh.* But that Christ shall not presently come to Judgement after this destruction, is evinced from hence, That that coming shall not be till at length after the War of *Gog* and *Magog*, *chap.* 20. *verse* 8, 9.

Now that War shall be a distinct War from that which is mentioned in this place; as appears by comparing both places. *Rev.* 19. 20. *Rev.* 20. 10.

X *Object.* Is taken out of *Revel.* 20. 2, 3. Where it is said, That Satan was bound for a thousand years, that he might not any more seduce the Nations, till the thousand yeers were expired; namely, That he might not seduce them to Idolatry. Now this hath been done, by the preaching of the Gospel, from the 70 yeers of Christ, after that *Hierusalem* was destroyed, the *Jews* rejected, and the Nations brought into the Church in their room. Then truely was Satan bound, that he might not any more seduce the Nations. Not that he might not hurt any one any more, but that he might not any more make mad the Nations with a grosse dotage upon the Worship of *Pagan* Idols, and hinder the belief of the Gospel among them. Hence we may easily collect, where we are to fetch the *Epocha*, or the beginning of this account of 1000 years. *Answ.* The Text doth not onely speak of seducing to Idolatry, but also, and especially concerning the seducing, wherewith Satan formerly enticed, and shall about the end of the world entice the Nations to make War against the Church. Again, it is false that Satan from the year of Christ 70. was bound for a thousand years; because from that time innumerable and horrible heresies, fallings away, and scandalls, &c. have been. Indeed Satan was bound at that time, but not in that manner, and measure, as he shall be bound for the thousand years. Again, by *Nations*, in the place quoted, we must understand not the *Gentiles* onely, but also the *Jews*; who truely are yet seduced; as also the *Indians*, *Turks*, and others.

XI *Object.* Is from *Revel.* 20. 1. Where it is said, That the Angel which bound Satan, came down from Heaven. By this Angel therefore we must understand Christ, who came down from Heaven; *Joh.* 3. 13. Hence we may conclude, That these thousand years began about the time of *Christs Birth*. For at that time the *Oracles* ceased from giving Answers. Whereupon *Apollo* being enquired of by *Augustus Cæsar*, answered thus:

See *Plutarchs* profound and learned Book, *De defectu Oraculorum*

Me puer Ebræus, *Divos* Deus *ipse gubernans,*
Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub Orcum:
Ergo desine aris tacitus discedito nostris.

The Hebrew *Child, himself a* God, *that rules the* gods,
Bids me give place, and back unto sad Hell *return.*
Silent therefore, depart from hence, mine Altars *leave.*

See for the Greek of of these verses in *Io Obsopœus* his Edition of the *Ancient Oracles.* The book is not now under my hands.

See, the devill himself confesseth, That he is bound from this time. *Answ.* 1. As in the former Visions good Angels were the executioners of Gods Judgements, so it is likely that a created Angel was used also in this Vision. 2. Christ in the 3. of *John* is said to have come down from Heaven, that is, To have assumed the humane Nature. But the *Angel* in this place, who hath the key of the bottomlesse pit, came down from Heaven by a locall motion, that he might binde the Devill for a thousand years, after the downfall of Antichrist. 3. It is true, the devill was bound at the time of the Nativity of Christ; but not after that manner, as is here declared. Look before in the *Analysis*. For there are many measures and degrees, whereby the devill is bound.

XII *Object.* Is this. This Interpretation, concerning the Resurrection of the *Martyrs*, seems to oppose the Article of our Faith, *I believe the Resurrection of the flesh.* For so a double Resurresiion of the flesh is maintained, contrary to the Apostolique Faith. *Answ.* That *Article* speaketh of the finall and universall Resurrection, which shall be in the last day, and in which all the dead shall rise again. Now this Resurrection is not contradicted or denyed by the Resurrection of the Martyrs, which is to go before it, no more then by the Resurrection of the Saints, who rose again, when Christ breathed forth his Spirit hanging upon the Crosse, *Matth.* 27. 50, 51, 52.

XIII *Object.* Is taken out of *Revel.* 20. 6. Where all, and only they, are proclaimed blessed, and freed from the second death, who have their part in the first Resurrection: Whence it follows, That either there shall be no Resurrection after the first, or that none in the second Resurrection shall be blessed; both which are

absurd. *Answ.* 1. Nay the latter is onely absurd, being granted from the *antecedent*, or foregoing. 2. The antecedent is false, neither is it in the Text. For it is not said there, They *onely* are happy. Now that they are in particulars said to be blessed, that is in respect of their Prerogative, in that they are blessed above others of the faithfull, as being to reigne 1000 years with Christ before the last day. And this is intended by the word *Holy* being added, whereby is signified that they should be separated from the other faithfull believers, and set aside for this happinesse, in that they are to rise again to reign with Christ before them. 3. Thirdly, this blessednesse consists of three parts; the first of which being considered apart, suits also with the other believers. But as it is joyned with the other two parts, it cannot be expressed but of the *Martyrs* only, as it will appear to any one that will examine the Context of the *6 verse*.

XIV *Object.* Is taken ont of *Revel.* 20. 6. Whence it is gathered, That the first Resurrection hath opposed to it the first death. Therefore by the first Resurrection, the second Life, or living again of the soul from the death of sin, by Faith, and Repentance, or, in a word, Regeneration, is to be understood. Certainly all and onely the truely regenerate, are delivered from the second, or eternall death, and certainly obtain heavenly happinesse: Whence it may be sufficiently proved, That the first Resurrection is not particular, or bodily. *Answ.* The first Resurrection, as it is spoken of in this place, is not opposed to the first death, of which there is here no mention; but it is opposed to the second Resurrection, as appears out of these words; *But the rest of the dead lived not again, untill the thousand yeers were finished. This is the first Resurrection.*

XV *Object.* Is this. The first Resurrection is not a bodily Resurrection; because if it be bodily, it is not the first: For the Resurrection of others, namely, of those Saints who rose again while Christ hung on the Crosse, went before it. *Answ.* That Resurrection of the Martyrs is called the first by way of Excellence, by reason also of the multitude of them, in respect of which that Resurrection of the Saints comes not within reckoning of, by reason of the fewnesse. For although many bodies of the Saints are said

then

then to have risen, yet in regard of the *Martyrs* they were but few; as which came forth of the Graves onely, which were neer unto *Hierusalem*.

XVI *Object.* It is a usuall Axiome in the School of *Divines*, That the *first Resurrection* is the living again of the Souls from the death of sin, by faith and repentance, which otherwise is called *Regeneration*; and it is opposed to the *first death*, which is a defection, and a casting away of the soul from God. But the *second Resurrection* shall be the raising of the bodies, to be united to the souls to eternall life; to which the second death is opposed, which shall be the casting away of the damned to eternall torments. *Ans.* *Resurrection* is tearmed to be the First, ambiguously. For either it is opposed to the first death, and so it is spirituall, and is proper to all believers; or it is opposed to the second Resurrection, and so it is corporeall, and of the *Martyrs* onely.

XVII *Object.* The thousand years of Satans binding contain an obscure mystery, and hidden from us. In vain therefore, and too boldly we labour in so scrupulous an uniting thereof. *Ans.* 1. There are many Mysteries in the *Revelation*: which in succesſe of time receive light more and more. 2. We dislike all boldnesse; but we commend holy diligence and industry.

XVIII *Object.* From the end of Satans binding, the *Epocha* is to be collected of the thousand years in the *Revelation*. Now the term of his binding expired in the year of Christ 1075. wherein * *Gregory* the 7, that devillish Juggler and Cozener, possessing himself of the *Popedome*, confounded Heaven and earth together, and filling the Christian world with Wars and slaughters, declared himself to be a singular instrument of Satan let loose from his bonds. Hence it appears that those thousand years began in the year of Christ 73. *Answ.* Satan indeed in the year of Christ 1073 was let loose, as he is alwayes to be conceived let loose, when he troubles the Church. But that letting him loose, which shall be after the thousand years, shall be farre of another sort. For then Satan shall be loosed, that he may stirre up the Nations to the Warre of

* Some begin these 1000 yeers at Christs *Incarnation*, and end them in *Sylvester* 2. Some at his *Passion*, and end them in *Benedict* 9. Some at the destruction of *Hierusalem*, and end them in *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory* 7. which is *receptior sententia*, as D. *Prideaux* in *Orat. de Gog & Magog.* Sect. 2. Others begin them in *Constantine* the *Great*, and terminate them in *Boniface* 8. about the year 1300.

Gog and *Magog* : and indeed he shall be so let loose, that he shall not long go on to destroy. But now from the year of Christ 1073 to this present, some whole Ages have passed.

XIX *Object.* This Opinion little differeth from the errour of the *Chiliasts*, or *Millenaries*, which long ago hath been exploded for this reason, Because, after the downfall of *Antichrist*, they feigned, out of this very 20 *Chap.* a corporeall Resurrection of the *Martyrs*, and *Confessors*, and their reign with Christ for a thousand years. *Answ.* The opinion of the *Chiliasts* ought not to have been exploded for this reason, because it maintained a double Resurrection, one in particular, another Universall; for truely in Christs time, when he hung upon the Crosse, there happened a particular Resurrection of the *Saints* : The Resurrection of the *Martyrs* hath also a foundation upon this Text; whereon also our judgement for their Kingdom of a thousand years is grounded. 2. The *Chiliasts* erred in this respect, in that they maintained an eternall life here on earth, and in the City *Hierusalem*. That this life should consist in the enjoyment and use of all bodily pleasures, which should last only for a thousand years. And of their opinion they made this the foundation, because that in the 20 *chap.* of *Rev.* there was mention made of a thousadd years. Let us hear * *Augustine* concerning them. *The* Cerinthians *devise also to themselves a* thousand years *after the Resurrection which shall be in an earthly kingdom of Christ, according to the * carnall pleasures of the belly and their lust : from whence also they are called* Chiliasts. So the *Chiliasts*. But our opinion maintains not a thousand years of carnall pleasures, but of Spirituall joyes.

Cerinthus being a *Jew*, had his fond conceits concerning these 1000 years from *Judaisme*. Yet observe this, That *Irenaus* and *Tertullian*, who professedly wrote of *Cerinthus* Heresies, make not any mention of this his opinion to be ours.

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethaum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno;
Scilicet immemores supera, ut convexa revisant,
Rursus & incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

* Lib. de Hæresibus, cap 8. vide *Epiphanium & Philastrium.*

But they urge; The opinion of the *Chiliasts* in following times also hath been revived again. in a new trim or dresse; and this exposition

* Which thousand years of pleasure we no more maintain, then those 1000 years mentioned in *Virgils Purgatory. Aen.* 6.

position of yours differs not a white from it: which they prove thus, *Alfonsus Conradus* of *Mantua*, whom severall times you have before alleadged, writes thus upon the 20 of the *Revel.* "But "how are these thousand years to be interpreted? shall they be said to "be already past, or yet to be expected? Here you will not easily clear "your self, seeing the expositions of this place are wonderously divers; "and yet I make a question of it, whether any either of the ancient or "latter expositors, have ever touched the genuine and true meaning of "the place. In the first place indeed were the Chiliasts, who Judai-"zing, and entertaining carnall conceits concerning divine matters, "did carnally also interpreted this place; and say thus; When six "Millenaries, or 1000 years, shall be accomplished from the Creation "of the world, then Antichrist with all his power, that is, the wicked, "and whosoever have obeyed his commands against Christ, shall be de-"stroyed. Again, say they, For the whole 7th Millenary, Christ with "his elect, shall reign here on earth, in all tranquility and peace, and "without any affliction at all, Satan in the mean while being bound in "the bottomlesse pit, that he might not any way disturb their peace. Now "the thousand years of peace and tranquility being accomplished, Sa-"tan shall be let loose again, before Christs coming to Judgment, and "shall stirre up Gog and Magog against the Godly, untill by the "coming of Christ, the Militia or strength of Satan shall be repressed, "and Satan shut up for ever into the bottomlesse pit. But this Do-"ctrine, because it hath many absurdities, is to be avoided by all "Christians. So *Alfonsus*, in the place cited. Hence it appears then, That the exposition hitherto brought and maintained, is nothing else but the opinion of the *Chiliasts*, in another dressing, or at least the errour of new *Chiliasts*. *Answ.* 1. In this opinion that is to be approved of which hath foundation in the Scripture, as these three things in it have: 1. That *Antichrist* shall be destroyed before these thousand years. 2. That the Church shall be for these thousand years free from persecution. 3. That after these thousand years the Warre of *Gog* and *Magog* shall begin. 2. In the same opinion we dislike, and disprove, That it allows carnall security, That it affirms that no ungodly men shall be remaining for those thousand years; That it maintains that Christ shall reign visibly here on earth; lastly, That it doth precisely

joyn

Alfonsus Conradus.

Concerning this seventh Millenary, and what the Jewes thought thereof, see *Hieronu* upon the 65 of *Esay*, and *Camerarius* in *Alcinoum Platonis*; *Carpentarius* also upon the same *Dialogue*, pag. 322.

joyn this Millenary with the end of the sixth Millenary of the world, which conceit is taken from the Traditions of the House, or Family of *Elias*. 3. He is not rashly to be accused of * *Turcisme*, or *Judaisme*, who affirms any truth which a *Turk*, or a *Jew*, doth likewise maintain: as for example, That there is but one God. * So in like manner he is not straightway a *Chiliast*, who defends the truth of any thing which the *Chiliasts* also do rightly maintain out of Scripture. For this they do not hold, and teach, as *Chiliasts*.

* See the stupid impiety of the *Turks* opinion hereabout in the *Alcoran* Azoara 28. and 31.

Some rejected the authority of the *Revelation*, because it seemed to favour the heresie of the *Cerinthians*, or *Chiliasts*. But here *de 1000 annis nihil eorum movetur quæ Cerinthus tantum attribuit. Ubi enim luxus ille, ubi cibus & potus tabi nuptiæ & jactabi sacrificia & diversi Hierusalem agent?* saith *Trem.* Besides, *Cerinthus* affirmed *Christ* to be begotten as other men; he denied God to be *Creator* of the world; he separated *Christ* and *Jesus*, as two distinct persons. *Et quæ insciens melius.*

XX. *Objection.* The Kingdom, which *Revel.* 20. 4. is granted to the Martyrs consists herein, That their souls shall reign in Heaven with Christ. For although the holy *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, who poured out their lives, and lost their fortunes, under Tyrants, and Antichrist, for Christ's sake, were judged by the world as miserable, and wretched men; yet the Spirit of God declares otherwise of them, That they shall live and reign in happinesse with Christ in Heaven. *Answ.* 1 This Resurrection is granted to the souls of the Martyrs *Synechdochically*, or *totally*; because their souls shall so farre rise, or be restored, that they shall again be united to their bodies. For the dead bodies shall not rise again without their souls; but every body again united to it's own soul. And to the *souls, the rest of the dead* are opposed: of whom it is said, That *they lived not again till the thousand years were finished.* Therefore, whereas it is said of the souls of the *Martyrs*, That they should live, it is to be understood of their Resurrection in their bodies resumed, or taken to them again. 2. This is proper to the other elect *Saints*, as well as to the *Martyrs*, That their souls should reigne with Christ in Heaven. But in this place some prerogative is bestowed on the *Martyrs*, which consists in this, That in the beginning of the thousand years they shall rise again, and reign with Christ. 3. It is said, This particular Kingdom shall continue for

for a thousand years; which cannot be understood of eternall life. For the thousand years of *Satans* binding, and of the kingdom of the *Saints* with Christ, are the same; as we have formerly proved.

XXI *Object.* The War which Satan, after his thousand appointed years being let loose, hath made by *Gog* and *Magog*, that is, by the *Turk*, * that *Eastern Antichrist*, against the Camp of the Saints, and the beloved City, that is, The Christian Church, for 500 years and more, with great successe even unto this day, took it's beginning from the *Holy Warre*, first raised by *Gregory* the 7, Pope of *Rome*, by them who wore the *Signe of the Crosse*; the end of which indeed shall not be before the last Judgement, wherein the *Beast*, with the *false Prophet* shall at length be cast into the Lake of fire: And the *Catastrophe*, or issue, shall prove lamentable to all the enemies of the Church, because the fire shall devour them. *Answ.* This idle *Glosse*, or *Exposition*, may be confuted out of what I have said in the *Analysis*, or *unfolding* of this Chapter, and in answer to the 9 *Objection*. This in brief. The Beast, with the false Prophet, is thrown into the Lake of fire before those thousand years: and those thousand yeers being finished, the Warre of *Gog* begins. Compare *Revel.* 19. 20. with 20, 7. Again, *Gog* and *Magog*, do not signifie the Turke: But by this manner of speaking are figured out enemies of all kindes, who by their incursions annoy, or trouble, the Church; as before we have made it plain.

* *Christoph. Angelus*, a *Grecian*, whom I have been acquainted with all here in *England*, some years agoe wrote a Book in Greek, to prove that *Mahomet* was that *Antichrist* mentioned by S. *Paul* 2 *Thes.* 2. 3. under the termes of the *Man of sinne*, and *sonne of Perdition*. His book is entituled ἔκθεσις κατασκευῆς τῆς τοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀναιρέσεως &c. I cannot blame the poor Greek for thinking so, considering the horrid Tyranny and slavery his Countrymen live under, being vassals to the *Great Turke*, the admirer of *Mahomet*: I rather wonder that there should be found among us learned men, who are abetters of this opinion, when as the Apostle *Paul* teacheth us expressely, that *Antichrist* shall sit in the *Temple of God as God*; 2 *Thes.* 2. 4. and *Dominus* DEUS *noster Papa* is a thing taken notice of in the world before yesterday.

XXIII *Object.* In every vision, except the first, the description of the last Judgement is set down in the *Revelation*; more obscurely indeed in the former, but in the latter more clearly; The XXII *Objection*, it appears, is left out.

I know not by what chance, if not by the Printers negligence.

because all the visions are terminated in the end of the world, that the godly being injured may expect the day of their deliverance, and occasion of security may quite be taken away from the mockers. Wherefore it makes nothing which they say, that *Revel.* 19. 21. The peculiar destruction of Antichrist is described, which shall not be in the last judgement, but before those thousand years. *Answ.* 1. The Antecedent is denyed. For in the *second Visior*, which ends with the 6. *chapter*, a description of the last judgement is not set down, but some particular judgement to be executed about that time, which figures out the last judgement. 2. The *Text* of *Revel.* 19. and the *last*, manifestly argueth, that that vision is not terminated with the last judgement. 3. If however in every vision, except the first, a description of the last judgement were set down, yet it would not be otherwise then by interruption, or breaking of the present discourse, and so no essentiall part of the matter in hand: and consequently no way contradict, or weaken, this our opinion.

XXIV *Object.* The 20 Chapter of the *Revelation* containeth a Vision, which is the summe of all the foregoing visions, and a succinct and brief iteration of the whole prophesie so often repeated; which is divided into three parts. In the *first* is the blessed state of the Church for a good space of time after the first coming of Christ; which is expressed in the first *Seal*. In the *second* are described the painfull labours, and calamities, wherewith the Church shall afterwards wrestle; Of which in the third and fourth *Seals*; and in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth *Trumpets*. In the *third* is set down the joyfull deliverance thereof, and the destruction of her adversaries, with the end and Consummation of all; as before, in the sixth *Seal*, and the seventh *Trumpet*, and seventh *Viall*. But especially in this Vision the punishment of the Devill himself is expressed; when as in the former the destruction of his Ministers onely, and his followers was set forth. Hence therefore we may perceive, that they are wide, the whole Heaven, as they say, who out of this Chapter do erect I know not what happynesse of the Church, which is yet to come here on earth for a thousand years. *Answ.* This whole distribution, or disposition, of the *Revelation*, and namely of the 20 *Chapter*, which is here

proposed,

proposed, is absurd, and manifestly obscures the *Revelation*. See what we have formerly discoursed up and down, and namely the 1. *Sect. Of the connexion of this* 20 *Chapter* with the whole *System*, or *entire body* of the *Revelation*. Briefly, let this *Maxime* be observed: The Divine *Revelation*, from the departure of *John*, to the end of the world, distinctly figureth out the State of the Church, and the Ages thereof, by *Seals*, *Trumpets*, *Vialls*, and the following visions; So that all these succeed one another in a most beautifull order; and not one and the same thing is represented by divers visions. For it doth not suite with that Majestique manner of teaching, which the *Holy Ghost* observeth, that in one and the same Propheſie he should propose so many visions of one and the same thing.

XXV *Object.* No where in Scripture is there any mention of these *thousand years*, but in this place onely. Therefore it is very likely, That these *thousand years* signifie meerly a *Great time*; so that a certain number is put for an uncertain. *Answ.* 1. Here is no consequence: It is but once mentioned in Scriptures, Therefore it must not be taken litterally. For also the Lxx. weeks of *Daniel* are but once mentioned; and yet that number Lxx. is litterally expounded; so that it is taken for a certain, finite, and determined number. 2. This phrase, τὰ χίλια ἔτη, [*the thousand years*,] is severall times repeated in this place. Which repetition is not without some cause. 3. From many testimonies of Scripture a little before propounded, and expounded; from divers Arguments recited in the *first Classis*, or *distribution*, and compared with them places of Scripture, it manifestly appears, That the happy state of the Church for these thousand years, is described in this *Chapter*.

XXVI *Object.* The number of a thousand is the number of perfection; Therefore, these thousand years in this place do denote the fulnesse of time; but are not to be taken literally. *Answ.* 1. This is an Argument from *a particular*. A thousand sometimes denotes perfection; Therefore in this place. 2. That the letter is here to be retained, it is more then abundantly already proved.

XXVII *Object.* The division of the Church into *Militant*,

and *Triumphant*, oppoſeth this opinion of the future happineſſe of the Church here on earth for a thouſand years: where by the *Militant* Church is underſtood that part thereof, which in this life is ſubject to the Croſſe and Perſecution: By the *Triumphant* is meant the whole Church, in as much as after this life it ſhall reign with *Chriſt* in Heaven. *Anſw.* 1. The Warfare of the Church is not to be reſtrained to the perſecution to which now it is ſubject: but it is to be extended to the Spirituall combate and wreſtling, which, while it lives here, it hath triall of from the luſts of the fleſh. Although therefore for theſe thouſand years it ſhall haye no Warfare under the Banner of the *Croſſe*; yet the Spirit will have need to ſtrive and War againſt the Fleſh. 2. The *Triumph* of the Church is either in part, or totall; particular, or univerſall; begun, or conſummate. For oftentimes it happeneth, That we triumph in this life over the fleſh, the world, and the devill. Neither are we therefore ſaid to be in the *Triumphant* Church; as which is ſo called from her totall, univerſall, and conſummate Triumph. So although the Church for a thouſand years have ſome kinde of Triumph here on earth, yet it ſhall not be ſincere and perpetuall, and therefore by many degrees inferiour to that *Triumph*, from whence the Church in the life to come is called *Triumphant*.

XXVIII *Object.* The maintainers, and Patrons, of this opinion do *Judaize*, that is, follow the Jewiſh Traditions; therefore to be found fault with. *Anſw.* Therefore alſo the Scripture doth *Judaize*. See the *Places* a little before brought out of the Scripture. Moreover, we generally entertain too mean a conceit of the converſion of the *Jews*, becauſe being over-much addicted, and carried away with *Scholaſticall* trifles, we weigh not at all the *Myſteries*, which are propounded in the Scriptures.

XXIX *Object.* The Church, as long as it is here on earth, is under the Croſſe. Therefore no ſuch happineſſe thereof can be expected, as may laſt for a thouſand years. *Anſw.* The Antecedent is a vulgar *Axiome*, or *Poſition*; but not proved, neither indeed is it to be proved, as appears by what we have urged in ſeverall places of this our Diſcourſe.

XXX *Object.* Theſe thouſand years begin in the year 1517. For then.

then began *Antichrist* to be revealed. Then also were the two *Witnesses* raised. Finally, from that time the light of the Gospel hath been spread abroad far and wide, and Satan bound up more and more. *Answ.* The Proeme, or *Prologue*, is confounded with the principall *Act*; as it will appear, if the *History* of that time be compared with *Revel.* 20, and our *Exposition*.

XXXI *Object.* It is the common opinion of Divines, That the last Judgement is even at the door. That opinion then of a thousand years, is dangerous, because it makes people secure. *Answ.* 1. It is not the opinion of all Divines. 2. This supposition is erroneous: And therefore I may use that saying; "*Not to enslave our selves to suppositions.*" 3. No place of Scripture teacheth us that the last Judgement is at hand: Nay, some places of Scripture teach quite the contrary. Hereto belongs what *Cotterius* saith upon the 20 *chap.* of the *Revel.* "*To the years of Christ 1517, adde 1000, so you shall make 2517. at which time at length Satan shall the second time draw the Nations into abominable heresies. Neither is there any reason why this should trouble any ones minde, as if we put off the day too long. For I demand out of what place of Scripture we have search't it, That this day shall be within these two or three Ages. Surely we have but perswaded our selves so, because we would have it so. But I will believe the* Revelation, *which verily not in one place puts the last day off for a* thousand years. *In the* 16 *chap. you have* Vialls, *the first of which leaves behinde it the* Epocha *of the year* 1517, *as not finished. And these* Vialls *require some Ages for their pouring out; and not fewer then tenne.*" In which words of *Cotterius* I do mightily approve of it, that he weakens that vulgar opinion concerning the end of the world, That it is at hand. But what is there said concerning the *Epocha*, or beginning of our account of 1000 years, as also of the *Vialls*, may be confuted out of what hath gone before. It is an evill kinde of teaching, either by way of exhorting, or dehorting, which is grounded upon a ruinous, and false foundation; as this which is drawn from the day of the last Judgement, as if it were even at the door. Neither indeed do we reade, That the *Apostles* ever argued in this manner.

μὴ δουλεύειν ὑποθέσεσι. v. Aristot. Analyt. Post lib. 1. cap. 16

M. Cotterius.

XXXII *Object.* This Opinion of the thousand years, as it is

here explained, doth, as it were, lade us by the hand to the day of the last Judgement: yet notwithstanding Christ in the 13 of *Mark*, *v.*32. affirms, That *of that day, and that hour, no man knoweth, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son himself, but the Father* onely. And *Act.* 1. 7. *It is not for you to know the times, or seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power.* *Answ.* 1. No man can exactly set down or define the day of the last Judgement. For although by comparing *Daniel*, and the *Revelation*, it may appear, That the last day shall not come before the 2694 yeer of Christ; yet by no means or way possible can it be found out, in what yeer after this *Period*, or *set time*, it shall come. 2. What God hath reserved to himself alone, we cannot, nor ought not to search after, or determine. But this *Period* of 2694 years, he hath expressed in his Word.

Χρύσια Χαλκέων. He alludes to Glaucus, changing his golden Armour with *Diomed.* for brasse Armour, in l. of the *Rhapsody* of Homers Iliads. Χρύσια Χαλκείων. ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεάβοιον. Besides the Antients, *Justinian* useth it proverbially, *Præm. F.*

XXXIII. *Object.* It is absurd to thinke that the Martyrs shall rise again to this mortall life: for this will be but an ignoble change, and for the worse, as it is in the Proverbe, * *gold for brasse*: by reason that the souls of the Martyrs do now reign in Heaven, and their bodies rest in the earth free from their labours. Now if they rise again to this mortall life, they must endure the enterchange or vicissitude of times, as of day, and night, Sommer, and Winter, and must be made subject to the necessity of eating, drinking, and the like. *Answ.* 1. *Lazarus* and those *Saints* who rose again at the time of *Christ's* Passion, were brought again after long absence here, from life eternall, into this mortall life, notwithstanding they lost not their happinesse hereby. 2. The state of the *Martyrs* shall consist of a happy Kingdom in this life, which shall not any way be discommodated by those things which formerly are objected, as we see the like things no way hindered *Adam* in the state of his innocency, from the full enjoying of perfect happinesse.

XXXIV. *Object.* Christ in the end of the world shall burn up the *tares*: therefore still in the Militant Church, there shall be the bad mingled with the good, which is to be denyed in so happie a condition of the Church, for these thousand years. *Answ.* Nay rather not be denied. For neither shall the men, who for all that time shall live on earth, be so blessed, that either they themselves

selves shall be voyd of sinnes, or seperated from the company of sinners. It shall not be so. There shall be a great differenee between the happinesse of these thousand years, and that of everlasting life. The godly men then, (except the Martyrs) for the whole space of these thousand years, shall be subject both to sin and death, and shall have the wicked intermix't with them. But there shall be no such matter in the life Eternall.

XXXV. *Object.* The Church is sufficiently reformed. Therefore no other reformation ought to be expected. The Antecedent may be proved from hence, because the Doctrine of the Fundamentalls of our Salvation is proposed so, that it cannot be done more cleerly, or with greater light. *Answ.* The great Reformation which we declare shall come to passe, shall concerne matter of *Life*, as well as *Doctrine*. As for matter of *Doctrine*, the foundation thereof shall remain. But as for those infinite contentions, whereby the Body of Christ is torn in pieces, an end shall be put unto them. Again, many places of Scripture, whose expositions have hitherto troubled the most learned men, shall more cleerly and better be understood. As for matter of *life*, what should I say? The matter it selfe speaks loud enough, that in the whole course of our lives, as good, and as great as we are, we have little or no *Divinity* at all. There is great need therefore of a *Reformation*.

XXXVI. *Object.* It was an ancient *Distinction*, that the kingdome of God is either of *Power*, *Grace*, or *Glory*. But this Distinction is taken away by this *Millenary*, so much pleaded for: because it cannot be referred either to the Kingdom of Grace, or to the Kingdome of Glory. *Answ.* It belongs to the Kingdome of *Grace*, which doth consist of divers degrees. Neither is this opinion any way prejudiced, because in the former discourse I have sometimes made mention of glory and Majesty, as part of the happinesse of this *Millenary*. For this *glory* is only *inchoative* or in it's beginning, and shall be broken off by the War of *Gog* and *Magog*. But the *Glory* of the *Life Eternall* is perfect, and never at all to be interrupted.

V. The

V.

The *Doctrines* arising out of this Chapter.

1.

According to the Order of the Heads in the *Catechisme*.

I. THe XI and XII Articles of the *Creed*, concerning the *resurrection* of the flesh, as also concerning the last *Judgement*, and *eternall life*, are treated of.

II. The *first*, and *third* precepts of the *Decalogue*, or *Three Commandments*, are here illustrated in the 4 *verse*, where mention is made of Godly *Confessors*, who worshipped not the Image of the Beast.

III. The *second* and *sixth* Petitions of the *Lords Prayer* may be explained out of this Chapter.

2.

According to the Order of *Common-places*.

This Chapter makes mention of *Gods Providence*; of *Angels*; of *Predestination*; of the *Church*, and it's *enemies*; of *Martyrdome*; of the *Resurrection* of the flesh; of the *last Judgement*; of *Life*, and *Death Eternall*.

3.

Doctrines out of the severall *Verses*.

Vers. 1.

1. God instructeth men sometimes, and teacheth them extraordinarily by *Visions*, as also by *divine Extasies*, or *Raptures*.

2. The *Angels* are ministring *Spirits*, who receive their commands at *God's* hands.

3. Good *Angels* are endowed with great power, and strength.

Vers. 2.

1. Good *Angels* have power over evill *Angels*, or *Spirits*.

2. The *Devill* is stronge, and crafty; as being both a *Dragon*, and a *Serpent*.

3. The onely, and continuall work of the *Devill* is to calumniate, and falsly accuse both *God* and *Man*; and to endeavour the hinderance

hinderance of the *Glory* of the one, and the *Salvation* of the other.

4. The *Militant Church* hath severall and differing times here on earth, namely both of *oppression*, and *refreshment*, after the divers degrees thereof, according to the dispensation, and good pleasure of *God*.

Vers. 3.

1. The *Devill* is bound, and tyed up by the reines of God's *Providence*.

2. The *Devill* is the author of the generall *seduction* of mankinde.

3. *Warres* shall cease for a *thousand years*.

4. The *Warre* which shall begin after these thousand yeers shall not last long.

Vers. 4.

1. *Christ* is a *Judge* appointed by God, to whom the holy Angels are joyned as *Assessors*, or inferiour *Judges*.

2. The *Professors* of the Gospel are hated in the sight of the world.

3. *Constancy* is required in the Profession of the Truth.

4. They are *Idolators*, who worship *Antichrist*, and follow his doctrine.

5 The *Martyrs* shall reign with Christ for a *thousand years* in the Militant Church.

Vers. 5.

1. The generall *resurrection* shall be in the end of the world.

2. The *first resurrection* and particular of the *Martyrs* is the *proeme* unto the *second*, or universall resurrection.

Vers. 6.

1. As the children of God in this life have one above another *prerogatives* of *gifts*, *works*, and *sufferings*: so shall they also have *prerogatives* of *blessings*, both in this life, and in that also which shall be hereafter.

2. The common happpnesse of the godly, among other things, consists in this, that the *second death* hath no power over them.

3. We must certainly resolve, that there is a *second*, or *eternall* Death.

4. Though all *Christians* are *Kings* and *Priests*: yet in a more speciall manner the *Martyrs* raised at the beginning of these *thousand years* shall be *Kings* and *Priests* in the Militant Church.

Vers. 7.

1. The *happyness* of the Church, which shall continue for these *thousand years*, must not be confounded with, or mistaken for the *happyness of life eternall*.

2. *Satan* can do nothing, except, by Gods leave, he be let loose out of his prison.

3. God alone can restrain *Satan*, as if he had him shut up in some prison.

Vers. 8.

1. *Satan*, when soever he gains power, playes over his old pranks again.

2. *Satan* is delighted with the *shedding of* mans *blood*, especially of the Godly, and therefore useth to seduce, and entice men to *Warre*.

3. Whatsoever is said in the *Old Testament* of *Gog* and *Magog*, is to be understood partly *literally*, partly *typically*.

4. The *Enemies* of the Church are in number many.

Vers. 9.

1. *Men* seduced by the *Devill* let slip no occasion, so watchfull herein they are of *persecuting* the *Godly*.

2. The *Church* is the *beloved City* of God.

3. It is the *duty* of *Christians* continually to be exercised in *Christs warfare*.

4. God executes wonderfull *judgements* against the *enemies* of his Church.

Vers. 10.

1. The *Devill*, and his Instruments are cast into *Hell*, and shall be *tormented* there for ever.

2. *Eternity* is nothing else, then a *continuation* of Age to Age for ever.

3. *Hell* is a place full of *horrour*.

Vers. 11.

1. The Majesty of *Christ coming to Judgement* shall be very great.

2. *Heaven*,

2. *Heaven*, and *Earth*, in the day of the last Judgement, shall *passe away*, in respect of the *fashion of this world*.

Vers. 12. and 13.

1. The *last resurrection* shall be *universall*.

2. *Men* in the last Judgement shall be *judged* according to their *works*.

3. The *Conscience* of a man is like a *book*, in which all his *thoughts*, *words*, and *deeds* are as it were set down.

4. The *book* of *life*, or *Predestination* shall be opened in the last Judgement, for then shall it appear plainly who are the *Elect*, and who the *reprobate*: who have *truely* beleeved in Christ, who *hypocritically*: who have *truely* worshipped God, who according to *appearance* onely.

5. The last Judgement shall be *universall*, *infallible*, and *just*. *Universall*, because it shall be of the dead, and living; of great, and small. *Infallible*, because God is all-knowing, and hath chosen his own from Eternity. The *Omnisciency*, or *all-knowledge* of God is signified by the *books*, in which the works of every particular man are written. His *Election* is signified by the *book of life*. *Just*, because God shall judge according to every mans works, without *acceptance* of persons.

6. God knoweth *in what place* the particular body of every dead man is reserved.

Vers. 14. 15.

1. *Hell* is a place full of horrour.

2. *Reprobation* from life eternall is nothing else, but a *not-writing* in the *book of life*. *Election* to eternall life, is a writing of our names in the book of Life.

An Appendix.

BEcause in the handling of this Chapter, I proposed to my self not onely to maintain that which mine own *Conscience* witnessed with me to be *true*; but withall to furnish these times also with this, not the least *Consolation*; it was needfull for me to use this *Method*, which in the Explanation of holy Scripture,

without doubt exceeds all others. It will not be amisse therefore, if I set down this *Method* in the following *Table*.

In every Chapter, yea Verse, of holy Scripture, there are to be considered.

- The Prolegomena, or Præcognita, that is, the foregoing matter, or things to be known before hand; and they are either of the
  - Author, and authority thereof.
  - Subject, or matter.
  - Connexion, or Coherence.
- The Text it self, in which are to be considered the
  - Argument, or Summe thereof.
  - Analysis, or Resolution, either
    - Philologically, and Theologically, or
    - Logically, and Theologically.
  - Paraphrase, or larger upholding thereof.
  - Questions, either
    - Fundamentall; proper to the place, and necessarily arising: or,
    - Lesse principall; common with other places, and honorary, or accessory.
  - Doctrines, according to
    - The order of the Heads in the Catechisme.
    - Common Places.
    - The order of the Contex.

Of these the Argument, Paraphrase, and Doctrines, belong to the handling of the sacred Text in the way of Preaching; the Analysis, or Questions, to the Scholasticall part of Divinity.

Glory be to God alone.

FINIS.

Testimonies concerning this worke of Alstedius.

Dr. *Hakewill* in his *Apology*, &c. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 12. §. 6.

Concerning Elias comming.

Alstedius a famous Professour at *Herborne*, in his *Diatribe de mille annis Apocalypticis*, published about two yeares since, is of this opinion; as also that the *thousand years* mentioned in the 20. of the *Revel.* (during which time *Satan* should be bound) is yet to come, which assertion he first builds upon a litterall interpretation of the number, in as much as it is five severall times repeated within the compasse of seven verses, and the foure last with a special article added, τὰ χίλια ἔτη (the thousand yeares.) Secondly, upon a supposition that *Satan* as yet hath not been bound up a thousand yeares together, since the delivery of that Prophecie by the Angell to St. *Iohn*, and by him to the Church; considering that ever since, much and grosse idolatrie hath raigned among the *Pagans*, obstinate blindenesse among the *Iewes*, since the rising of *Mahomet*, pittyfull defection, & seduction among the *Saracens*, strang errors and heresies, sects and schisms among the *Christians*, and since the rising of *Antichrist*, wonderfull ignorance superstition, and persecution of the saints, together with a generall prophanesse, and corruption in matter of manners; all which saith he, cannot stand with the binding up of *Satan*, (the principall actor of all these) for a thousand yeares, and consequently, that the performance of that promise is yet to be expected: and for confirmation of this opinion (though the booke it selfe be but little (he alleadgeth 66. passages of Scripture, inforceth many reasons, answereth 36. *Objections*, produceth the testimonies of sundry learned men, either expresly defending it, or at least wise favouring it. And they are,

Iunius Heurnius. *Petrus Curaus.* *Ioannes Piscator.*
Ioannes Keplerus. *Ioannes Debricus.* *Petrus Molinaus.*

Johannes

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    - Questions, either
      - Fundamentall; proper to the place, and necessarily arising; or,
      - Lesse principall; common with other places, and honorary, or accessory,
    - Doctrines, according to
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FINIS.

Teſtimonies concerning this worke of Alſtedius.

Dr. *Hakewill* in his *Apology*, &c. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 12. 5. 6.

Alſtedius a famous Profeſſour at *Herborne*, in his *Diatribe de mille annis Apocalypticis*, publiſhed about two yeares ſince, is of this opinion; as alſo that the *thouſand years* mentioned in the 20. of the *Revel.* (during which time *Satan* ſhould be bound) is yet to come, which aſſertion he firſt builds upon a litterall interpretation of the number, in as much as it is five ſeverall times repeated within the compaſſe of ſeven verſes, and the foure laſt with a ſpeciall article added, τὰ χίλια ἔτη (the thouſand yeares.) Secondly, upon a ſuppoſition that *Satan* as yet hath not been bound up a thouſand yeares together, ſince the delivery of that Prophecie by the Angell to St. *Iohn*, and by him to the Church; conſidering that ever ſince, much and groſſe idolatrie hath raigned among the *Pagans*, obſtinate blindeneſſe among the *Iewes*, ſince the riſing of *Mahomet*, pittyfull defection, & ſeduction among the *Saracens*, ſtrang errors and hereſies, ſects and ſchiſms among the *Chriſtians*, and ſince the riſing of *Antichriſt*, wonderfull ignorance ſuperſtition, and perſecution of the ſaints, together with a generall prophaneſſe, and corruption in matter of manners: all which ſaith he, cannot ſtand with the binding up of *Sathan*, (the principall actor of all theſe) for a thouſand yeares, and conſequently, that the performance of that promiſe is yet to be expected: and for confirmation of this opinion (though the booke it ſelfe be but little (he alleadgeth 66. paſſages of Scripture, inforceth many reaſons, anſwereth 36. *Obiections*, produceth the teſtimonies of ſundry learned men, either expreſly defending it, or at leaſt wiſe favouring it. And they are, *Concerning Elias comming.*

Iunius Hegrinus. *Petrus Curaus.* *Ioannes Piſcator.*
Ioannes Keplerus. *Ioannes Debricus.* *Petrus Molinaus.*

Iohannes

Ioannes Ferus. *Christoph. Besoldus.* *Matthaus Cotterius.*
Seraph. Firmianus *Cal. Sec. Curio.* *Michael Sendivogius.*
Remalcus de Vaulx. *Alf. Con. Mantuanus.* *Stephanus Pannonius.*
Martinus Cellarius. *Lucas Osiander.* *Quos omnes sua sibi lata vid. apud Alstedium.*

The Author of a book, lately published in latine, and inscribed *Nuncius Propheticus*, who in modesty conceales his name. *pag.* 34 42. *Diatribe de millennis, Apocalypsin quem tractatum &c.* that is, the treatise of *Alstedius* concerning the *thousand yeares* in the *Revelation*, I esteeme above the value of gold and precious stones, it being full of secret wisedome.

Parvum sed magne sedulitatis opus. Alstedius. Sedulius.

And *pag.* 42. *Alsted* in his truely golden little work of, he is a *saxd yeares* in the *Apocalypse.*

Which work, though small, yet full of great sedulitie takes away all scruple of doubt herein; And it is much to be desired, that some one or other that delights himselfe in *Theologicall* misteries so much worthy of our knowledge would translate it out of the *Latine* and make it speak *English.* Τί δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν σπουδάσαι με ποιήσειε τοῦτο; *Thou wilt straight way thinke Reader, that this was no small incitement to me to goe on with this Translation, having before the edition of this booke taken it in mine hands.*

Testimonies concerning the Opinion it selfe, *approved by some famous* English *Divines. And first Dr.* H. Kewill *of* Oxford *in his Booke intituled,* An Apology of the power and providence of God in the government of the world.

Lib. 6. Cap. 12. v. 6.

AS wee neede not doubt that *Antichrist* is long since come into the world, so many passages of holy *Scripture* and testimonies of learned men, make us more then hope that (notwithstanding his late victories, and triumphs) his downefall is not farre off, and that thereupon the Church of *Christ* shall flourish more in peace, and

power,

power, in doctrine and manners, in lustre and glory, then hitherto at any time in former ages it hath done. To instance in all the passages in Scripture, which to this purpose are alleadged, would prove, I doubt me tedious, and in some perchance impertinent, mine endeavour then shall be to pick out the choisest, and among them specially those which seeme to point at a fuller calling as well of the *Gentiles*, as the *Iews*, then heretofore hath been.

The particular places for brevitie I have set downe, which, Reader, pruse at thy leasure. Psal. 22.27. *Esay* 2.2 *Matth.*24.14. *Rom.*5 2. 26.2. *Cor.*3.15. *Micah* 4.3. *Esay* 30. 26. *and* 54. 11. *But you shall have them all in this treatise.*

The Doctor goes on.

And all this peace and glory shall arise from the subversion of *Rome* and *Antichrist*, and his adherents, so evidently described in the 14. 18. and 19. of the *Revelation*, that the very *Jesuits* themselves. *Ribera* and *Vegas* cannot possibly devise any jugling conveyance how to shift it off. And if for the effecting of this great worke, we should grant, (that which all antiquity both *Iewish* and *Christian* much beates upon) that *Elias* shall come and restore all things, I cannot see what great absurdity can from thence be inferred, or what *Article* of *Christian* faith it impugneth. Indeed our *Saviour* teacheth his *Disciples* that *Elias* was then come meaning *Iohn* the *Baptist*, whom he tearmeth *Elias* in regard of his zeale, his austerity of life, his suffering for the Truth, and his preparing a way to reformation; but how the *Baptist* restored all things he tells them not, neither can those words (as I conceive) bee properly understood of him, nor yet those of the Prophet *Malachy*, that *Elias* the Prophet for the turning of the hearts of men each to other, and all to God, shall be sent before the comming of the great and dreadfull day of the *Lord*; whereby the day of the first comming of our *Lord* in the flesh cannot well be meant, in as much as that was rather good and gracious, then great and dreadfull: It should seeme then that either *Elias* himself, or some other great *Heroical* spirit match-

able to him, is yet to bee sent, for the accomplishing of this great businesse in the restoring of all things. I am sure *Alstedius*, a famous professour at *Herborne*, is of that opinion &c. *ut supra.*

Thus Doctor *Hakewill*, *providentia divina ex. minus* [illegible]

Doctor Twisse *in his Preface to Mr.* Medes *Book intituled,* The Apostasie of the latter times.

THe beginning of my acquaintance with Master *Mede* was occasioned by a rumour spread of his opinion, concerning the glorious kingdome of *Christ* here on earth, which many hundred yeares agoe was cried downe, as the errour of the *Millenaries*: and it seemed wondrous strange to us, that such an opinion should after so many hundred yeares bee revived; and that in so strange a manner as now we finde, both amongst us, and amongst our brethren *Divines*. Nevertheless my selfe being firmely set upon studies of another nature, I had no great edge so much as to hearken to it, much lesse to take it into consideration. But a friend in the country sometimes urged mee to write to an acquaintance in *London*, and to enquire of Master *Mede*, whether he were of the same opinion with *Piscator* and *Alstedius* concerning the first resurrection, and the glorious kingdome of *Christ*. And hereupon shortly after word was sent me, that hee did agree with *Piscator* in this, that some shall rise a thousand yeares before others, but he differed from him in this, that *Piscator* thought this reigne of *Christ* should bee in heaven; but I (said Master *Mede*) agree rather with *Alstedius* and conceive, that the *thousand yeares* reigne of *Christ* shall be on earth, yet herein he differed from *Alstedius*; that whereas *Alstedius* was of opinion that the *thousand yeares* reigne of *Christ* should be after the day of judgement, Master *Medes* opinion was that it should be *in et durante die judicij*, in and during the day of judgement; which day of judgement should continue a *thousand yeares*, beginning with the ruine of *Antichrist*, and ending with the destruction of *Gog* and *Magog*.

When I heard this, my spirit was stirred up in mee to lay aside for

for a while my ordinarie ſtudies, and to take this into conſideration, and I prayed Maſter *Mede* to give me leave to propoſe my reaſons againſt this opinion of his. And the truth is, the improbability of it ſeemed very pregnant unto naturall reaſon, and divers arguments that way offered themſelvs, which ſeemed to be of very difficult (if at all poſſible) ſolution, and over and above it ſeemed very contradictious to divers plaine paſſages of holy Scripture. Mr. *Mede* very readily entertained the motion, and preſcribed me a time after which he ſhould bee at leiſure for me, and in a letter after this, in his familiar manner asked me ſaying; when come your *Queries?* I accepted his courteous anſwer, and ſent up unto him, firſt and laſt, twelve arguments againſt that opinion of his; and at the firſt I ſent him with an anſwer deviſed by my ſelfe to nine of them, for ſo I had promiſed him, namely, that I would bethinke my wits of what poſſibly might bee ſaid in the ſolution of them, according to the ſtraight eſſe of my invention, leaving it to him to approve, or correct, or adde, as he thought good. And whereas I could deviſe nothing at all in anſwer to my tenth argument, he ſent me a large anſwer thereunto in three ſides of a ſheet of paper, whereby I well perceived, that my beſt arguments had been known to him, and examined before I deviſed them.

After this, I came acquainted with many diſcourſes upon the ſame argument, one printed at *Hanow* in *Germani, de die novissimo*, of the laſt day; a few onely were printed, two copies (and no more) were brought into *England*, Maſter *Mede* bought them both, and ſent me one of them to copy it out, which we did. After this, no leſſe then ſeven manu-ſcripts were ſent me from one Divine, treating of this and other myſteries. Now here I cannot but confeſſe my corruption, for I received them by way of a bribe, and indeed I was to doe him a favour, and I dealt plainly with him, and told him I would not ſell my favours *Gratis*, I would be well payed for them: And therefore whereas *I* heard hee had ſtrange notions upon the *Revelation*, and touching the myſteries of the firſt reſurrection; and *Chriſts* Kingdome, I looked to bee ſee'd with the communication of them, with promiſe to returne them ſafely, after I had ſuck't the hony out of them, though he had never a whit the leſſe for that, ſuch is the nature of ſpirituall commodities. The good man ſent me word, that ſuch bribs ſhould never make me rich:

but I returned answer, that they could *make me the more rich then the enjoying of all the treasures of* AEthiopia, *and the hill* Amara *boote: And here I found rich mines inded, even all the mysteries belonging to Christs glorious Kingdome* set downe a part, by way of question, and a solemne resolution thereon, with proofes adjoyned out of the holy Scripture. Since that, I have met with divers choice pieces of the same argument, some prosecuting a few parts thereof onely, and others more.

So farre Doctor *Twisse, Summi Pelagianorum hujus seculi acerrimus impugnator.*

Master *Mede* of *Cambridge, Commentationum Apocalypticarum.* Part. II. pag. 276. et seqq.

Dialog cum Tryphone. Part of which Dialogue so farre forth as it concernes the Millenary Reigne of Christ, Mr. Mede hath both corrected, and illustrated with notes, in the 281 pag. &c. of this book, where hee hath also published the opinions of the Iewish Doctors concerning the kingdome of the Messias.

Id adeo proximi post Apostolos, &c. This opinion was so approved by the *Christians* in the age next to the *Apostles*, that *Iustin Martyr* doth witnesse that not onely himselfe, but the *Christians* of that time in all respects *Orthodox* did with a joynt and unanimous consent beleive it. Which opinion notwithstanding of the first *Christians*, afterward deformed with some additions, or (as I conceive) amisse understood, posterity did after an age or two reject. Yet so farre did the heate of this contention encrease (which deservedly you may wonder at, and grieve for) before it could be composed, that they who could not otherwise get free from the power of the adverse opinion, established by the *Revelation*, would rather call in question the authority of that divine Prophecy, confirmed by all the schollers of the Apostles, and their next successours, and openly and boldly slight it, then yeeld to this opinion: till at length happening upon some other likely interpretation of these *thousand yeares*, permitting to the *Revelation* it's divine authority, they ceased from their attempt, which could by no meanes be freed from the censure of impiety.

Conceive thus then, that the *Seaventh Trumpet*, with the whole space of those thousand yeares, and other predictions belonging thereto,

thereto, doth set forth that great day of judgement, so much spoken of by the ancient *Church*, as also by *Christ*, and his Apostles, and is not the short pace of a few houres, as commonly it is believed, but according to the manner of the *Hebrewes*, using a *day* for a *time*, the continued intervall of many yeares, and circumscribed with *two resurrections*, as with two set or limitted termes: I say that this *day* shall bee begun first with the particular and timely judgement of *Antichrist*, and other enemies of the Church, then raising alive with the glorious appearance of our Lord *Christ* in flames of fire; and that at length after the Kingdome of a thousand yeares granted to his holy Spouse the *New Jerusalem* here on earth, and others that shall afterward be borne this great day now drawing to an end, shall bee finished, after the letting loose of *Satan* and utter destruction of the Churches enemies, with the generall resurrection and judgement of all the dead: which being performed, the wicked shall be thrust downe to *Hell* to bee tormented eternally, and the *Saints* translated into *Heaven* to live with *Christ* there for ever.

Every where in the Prophets, & when they say in that day) and elsewhere in the O.T. As also he N. as Mat. 6.11 Luk. 11.13 & 2 Pet. 3.18 The day of an Age, which we render, for ever and ever.

This indeed is the *Time* of the anger of God upon the Nations, and avenging the cause of them who dyed for *Christ*, for which after the blast of the seaventh Trumpet, chapter eleventh, the *Elders* give thankes with triumph, because therein God was to give a reward to his servants the Prophets and Saints, and to them that feared his name, small and great; *and would destroy them who destroy the earth.*

This is that day of judgement, and destruction of wicked men, of which *Peter* 2. *Ep.* 3. 8. having spoken, presently addes: *But (beloved) be not ignorant of this one thing, (* for before I shewed it was called a day *) that one day is with the Lord as a thousand yeares, and a thousand yeares as one day.* In which very day the Apostle with his brethren and kinsfolk, the Iewes (to whom he writeth) doth expect a new fashion of things to happen, of which hee saith Presently BVT WEE EXPECT A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW EARTH according to his Promise where in dwelleth righteousnes. Take notice; *according to his promise.* Now where was this promise to be found of a *new Heaven*, and *new Earth* (seeing *Iohn* had not yet had this Revelation) but *Esaya* 65. 17. and 66. 22. *verse* 13.

which

which promise whosoever shall reade, I should wonder if he thinke that it is to be accomplished any where else but vpon Earth.

This is also that Kingdome, which is ioyned with Christs appearance heere on Earth to Iudge the world, of which *Paul* to *Timothy* 2. *Ep.* 4 1. *I charge thee before god and the lord* Iesus Christ *who shall Iudge the quicke and the dead at his* APPEARING *and His* KINGDOME. For after the last and Vniuersall Resurrection, the same *Paul* being witnesse 1. *Cor.* 15. 24: Christ *having destroyed the last enemy death, shall deliver up the Kingdome to the Father, that he himselfe may be subiect to him that put all things vnder him*; so little can he be said to enter upon a new kingdome. The Kingdome therefore, which neither was before the Appearance of the Lord neither shall be after the last Resurrection must necessarily be concluded to be betweene them both.

This is the kingdom of the son of man, which *Dan.* saw, the times of the *Antichristian* HORNE being finished, or the times of the *Gentiles* (*Luke* 21.24) being accomplished; who shall appeare in the clouds, when power, and glory, and the *Kingdome* shall be given to him, that all people, nations, and languages may serve him: for
Dan. 13. 14 18. 22. 26. 27. when (as the *Angel* streight expoundeth it) *the Kingdom and Dominion, and greatnesse of the Kingdome under the whole heaven* (mark it well) *shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most high.* For neither as I say vs before, shall this *Kingdome* be after the last Resurrection, seeing then the Sonne of man shall not enter upon a *Kingdome*, but as *Paul* saith, he must lay it downe, and deliver to his Father. Now that the same kingdome is spoken of by *Daniel* and *Iohn* may from hence be evinced. First, because both Kingdoms begin with the ruine of the fourth, or *Roman Beast*, that of *Daniel*,
Dan. 7. 11. verse 8. when the Beast under the last command of the Horne which had eyes, was slaine and his body given to the burning flame; that in the *Revelation*, when the Beast and false Prophet (that wicked Horne in *Daniel* having mouth and eyes like a head) were taken and both cast alive into the lake of fire burning with brimstone. Secondly, from the same sitting in judgement, which went before both: for that one place is borrowed from the other, and both intend the same thing, will appeare from the comparing of the descriptions of both.

DAN. Cap. VII.	APOC. XX. 4.
Ver. 9. *I beheld till the Thrones were placed.* For so it must be rendred with the Vulgar, LXX. and *Theodot.* and סָמַם or סָמַן is used of a Throne in the *Targum* on *Jer.* 1. 15.	*And I saw Thrones.*
Ver. 10. *And judgement was set.* That is, Judges, as in the great *Sanhedrim* or Counsell of the Jewes, according to the manner of which this whole description is fitted.	*And they sate upon them*
Ver. 22. *And judgement was given to the Saints of the most High.* That is, Power to judge, whence is that of *Paul. The just shall judge the Earth.*	*And judgement was given unto them.*
And the Saints possessed the Kingdome. That is, with the Sonne of man who came in the clouds of Heaven.	*And the Saints lived & reigned with Christ a thousand yeares.*

Moreover I would advise the Reader of this; whatsoever wholesome truth almost is delivered by the *Jewes*, or by our *Saviour* in the *Gospel*, or any where in the *new Testament*, by the *Apostles*, concerning the day of the *Great Judgement*, is taken out of this vision of *Daniel*; namely, the Judgement which shall be by fire, Christs comming in the Cloudes of Heaven, his comming in the glory of his Father with a multitude of Angels, the judging of the world by him with his Saints; the abolishing of *Antichrist*, by the glorious appearance of his comming, &c. So that they goe about to take away a pillar of our Evangelicall faith, who neglecting this ancient tradition of the Church, goe about to carry this Prophecy another way.

Lastly, to make an end: This is that most great Kingdome, which, as *Daniel* interprets it, was shewed to *Nebuchadnezzar* in that representative Statue of the foure Kingdomes: Not that of the STONE, which (the succession of the IV Monarchies yet remaining) was cut out of the Mountaine, (for this is the present state of *Christs* Kingdome) but of the *Stone*, which (those Dan. 2. 34. 35.

Monar-

Monarchies being dissolved and overthrowne) became a Mountaine and filled the whole earth.

Habemus Medum, à magnetis, in mysticis Prophetiis, si quis alius, παλαιὰ τὰ πάλαι ειδώς.

The Learned Authour of a Latine Treatise lately Printed in *London*, and Inscribed *NUNC JUS PROPHETICUS.*

DE millenariâ felicitate doctrinam non esse novam, hesternam, &c. The future felicity of the Saints and servants of God here on earth for the space of 1000. yeares is no novell conceit, new broached fancy, or an opinion started up yesterday; but a Truth to be reverenced for its antiquity and seniority, it being countenanced and maintained above 14. or 1500. yeares agoe, yea even in the infancy of the *Christian Church*. Many reverend men, famous for their sanctity, and learning, who lived whilest the blood of *Christ* was yet warme, taught freely, and fully with applause of all, and contradiction of none, concerning a great *Sabbath* and time of *Rest*, which should in after ages come upon the Earth. Some of them maintained then a twofold Resurrection. 1. *Particular*, of some choyce Saints, especially *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, whose lives were shortned and imbittered for the testimony of *Jesus*. 2. *Universall*, of the residue of the Saints with all the Reprobates, which is a principall flower in the Garland of every *Christians Creed*, and betwixt both, a truely *Golden Age* of 1000. yeares continuance. Peruse and ponder, good Reader, *Revel.* 5. 10. and *ch.* 20. 4, 5, 6. where the premisses (if my interpretation may beare sway) are so manifestly asserted, as if they were written with a *Sunne beame*. Neither let any scruple at the raising of any particular Saints before their Brethren, seeing we have

Multi Ecclesiasticorum virorũ & Martyrum ista dixerunt, Hieron. in Hieren. lib. 4.

have a president hereof in sacred Writ, or the first *Good Friday*, (or as I rather conceive) on the first *Easter day*: for at that time there arose with *Christ* our first Parents, holy *Patriarches* and *Matriarchs*, with many religious Kings, and inspired Prophets, by name, *Adam*, *Eve*, *Noah*, *Abraham* and his *Sarah*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*, *Moses*, *David*: or at least, *John Baptist*, *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, *Simeon*, *Anna*, *Joseph* Christs Foster-father, with others who saw and conversed with Christ in the flesh.

Moreover not a few eminent and ancient *Fathers* were strongly opinionated that *Christ* himselfe should then descend from Heaven, and here Reigne in a visible shape with great glory and tranquillity amongst his Saints and holy ones, That eloquent and * *candid* writer *Lactantius*, the *Cicero* of the Christians shall be the mouth of the rest. "*The Sonne of the highest, and great God* "*shall come to judge the living and dead, and he shall dwell among men* "*1000. yeares, and he shall governe them under a most just command*; "*and they shall live with their bodies, they shall not dye, but for those* "*1000. yeares they shall encrease into an infinite multitude, and their* "*issue shall be holy, and beloved of God. Now they that are raised from* "*the dead shall as Judges be placed over them that are alive.* And a "little after: *The Moone shall receive the brightnesse of the Sun, and* "*shall lose her light no more. And the Sun shall be seven times more glo-* "*rious then now it is. The earth shall expresse her fruitfulnesse, and* "*bring forth of its owne accord plentifull store of corne: The cliffes of* "*the Mountaines shall sweat out honey, the Springs and rivers shall* "*flow with wine and milke.* And presently, againe, *There shall be no* "*ravenous beasts in this time, no birds of prey; but all things shall be* "*quiet and peaceable. The Lyon and Calfe shall feed at the same stall*; "*the Wolfe shall not devoure the Sheepe, neither shall the dogge hunt af-* "*ter his prey. The Eagle and Hawke shall doe no harme: The Infant* "*shall play with Serpents. Lastly, all those things shall come to passe* "*which the Poets fable to have beene in those golden times of Saturnes* "*reigne. Men shall live therefore a most quiet and plentifull life, and* "*they shall reigne together with God, and the Kings of the earth shall* "*bring in their gifts and presents to worship and honour the great King,* "*&c. This is the doctrine of the holy Prophets, which we Christians* "*follow: This is Christian wisdome.* These are the words of *Lactantius*, which though plausible at the first view (being most part Scripture phrase) yet may here and there I grant, if minutely

* Lactant. Institut. l. 7.

Lactantius expresseth this Prophecy in *Virgils* verses, changing the order thus, 38. 39. 40. 41. 28. 29. 30. 42. 43. 44. 45. 21. 22.

examined, be justly liable to exception, as bordering neere upon the *Heresy* of *Cerinthus*, and the old condemned *Millenarians*, except we yeeld them spoken (as Saint *Paul* speakes in another case) *after the manner of men.* Howbeit the Authour may be excused, he having only amplified that in transcendent expressions and flourishing streames, which many-many Lights of the East and West-Churches delivered in downeright termes. But why doe I single out one *Lactantius*, or insist thus on his *Rhetoricall Papias* a Bishop, and Saint *Johns* Scholar, *Irenæus* and *Justine*, stiled the *Martyr*, both which lived in the next age to the Apostles, *Tertullian* also and *Hilarius*, men of admirable endowments, yea, I had almost said, and in part blessed *Augustine* himselfe and his cotemporary Saint * *Hierome*, (all which were stars of the first magnitude in the firmament of the *Primitive Church*) most willingly have afforded their *places* and suffrages to this comfortable Doctrine, I meane for the maine of it. *After a good pause the same Author proceeds thus.* Lastly, In what yeare this new world shall begin, wherein holy men and women shall rejoyce and live together in a most blessed and heavenly manner, is one of the great secrets of Heaven, all which are unknowne to us mortals (Alas! our dimme eyes, the *Caleb* and *Josua*, fellow spies in this Isle of man, cannot pierce those tenfold Orbes of Heaven.)

Cerinthus and his followers the *Millenaries* were branded for Heretiques by reason of their carnall conceit of a meere temporall felicity: That the earth during these 1000. yeares should be, not a paradise of spirituall delights, but a stewes of all impure pleasures, and a stage of libertinisme, not unlike the phantasticall heaven the *Turkes* dreame of. This is also the fond fancy of the circumcised *Jewes*, and our late rebaptized Heretiques.

* *Hieron. de Vir. Illustr. numerosum antiquorum Patrum Catalogum in hanc sententiam recenset.*

Indeed so many men so many mindes: One Author assignes this yeare, another that, a third differs in his account from both. But it is agreed on all hands that this thrice happy and golden age is now at hand. *Alstedius* the Champion of the late *Millenarians*, *and a maine prop of this new revised Doctrine*, names and confidently determines the yeare of *Christ* 1694. (being 52 yeares hence) for the first yeare of this triumphant Reigne of the Saints here on earth. Others judge the time uncertaine, and certainly their judgment (in my judgement) is most certaine. I will turne my private opinion into a prayer, O that the *Almighty* would hasten, I againe and againe I wish it, this glorious Kingdome, that so it may come in our times before we be lodged in the silent grave, and moulder into our principles, dust and ashes. And now I will seale this delightfull contemplation with the words of Saint *John* surnamed the *Divine*; or rather not

not of the Pharisan, but of the thrice blessed Spirit which guided his pen, *Rev. 20. 6. Blessed is he that hath his part in the first Resurrection.*

Sweet Jesus, grant a part in the first Resurrection, to
Thy servant and Sonne of thine
Handmayd, *T. B.*

I wholly submit my selfe and opinion to the determination of our long expected Venerable Synod.

Ita Author ille in libello Delto, Jupiter, & laborioso!

There is extant also in Print this last yeare a Treatise of the Master John Archer, *sometimes Preacher of* All-hallows *in* Lombard-street, *Intituled,* The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth. *The Author, as I heare, is with God, but his Booke shall stand for ever in the very stall. But so farre out of some of our English Divines. Let us now heare the Incomparable* Tycho Brahe.

Tycho Brahe *Sueciam*, His Testimony taken out of his first Tome Astronomicorum Progymnasmatum *not farre from the end.*

IT is worthy our best observation, that as all the former uneven *Revolutions* of the *Fiery Trigon*, (namely the first, third, and fifth) have ever beene auspicious to the world, as having ushered in some great and singular favours of the Almighty to mankind: so it is probable that this seventh *Revolution* which now Reignes ever since the yeare of our Lord 1603. is the forerunner of a more happy and glorious state then all the afore passed ages have ever yet enjoyed. Neither doth this disagree with the most ancient prophecies of the wisest men, and enlightned by the Holy Ghost, who have foretold that before the generall conflagration of all things, that there shall be a certaine quiet and peaceable age for some good space of time upon Earth, wherein the tumults and confusi-

The first revolution of the fiery *Trigon*, happened in *Enos* and in the then flourishing estate of the Church. The third in *Moses* and the freedome from Egyptian slavery. The fifth in *CHRIST*, and the restoring of us to Gods favour by his Passion.

confusions happening in politique States, and by reason of variaties of Religions, shall be settled and appeased, and at length be made more conformable to the Divine Will, and pleasure. Which we may also not obscurely collect from the Prophets themselves, who foretold that some golden age should be for a time on Earth, in which men *should beate their swords into Ploughshares, and their Speares into pruning-hookes: neither should Nation lift up a sword against Nation, nor learne warre any more: But they shall sit every man under his Vine, and under his Figtree, and none shall make them afraid,* as *Micah* the Prophet hath it, *ch.* 4. and *Esay ch.* 11. prophecyeth of the same in this manner: *The Wolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, and the Leopard shall lie downe with the Kid, and the Calfe and the young Lion, and the fatling together, and a little childe shall leade them. And the Cow and the Beare shall feed, their young ones shall lie downe together: and the Lyon shall eate straw like the Oxe. And the sucking childe shall play on the hole of the Aspe, and the weaned childe shall put his hand on the Cockatrices den. They shall not hurt in all my holy Mountain: For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea.* And that passage also, *Esay* 60. is to be referred to the *Mysticall Hierusalem*, or more perfect state of Christianity then hath beene hitherto. *For Brasse I will bring gold, and for Iron I will bring Silver, and for Wood Brasse, and for Stone Iron: I will also make thy Officers peace, and thy exactors righteousnesse: Violence shall no more be heard in thy Land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise.* And what goes before and followes; where at length he thus concludes: *I the Lord will hasten it in his time.* More places are likewise to be found as well in the Prophets, as in the * *Revelation*, promising an unusuall and unexpected happyneſse of earthly things, such as never hath beene in any age of the world hitherto. The truth therefore of this Prophecy shall be fulfilled before the generall destruction of all things, (for it cannot faile, proceeding wholly from the infallible Spirit of God) and it is probable that the accomplishment thereof is at hand. Why then may not all these things obtaine an expected event within the compaſſe of this renewed Revolution of the fiery *Trigon*, and of the other three ensuing, which compleate 800. yeares? *Hactenus* Atlas *ille Coeli Mathematici.*

Septima hæc Trigonum in integrum ab orbe condito restitutio, SABBATISMI *quandam occultam rationē obtinet, & præcaeteris peculiare, & magni momenti quid denunciat.* Tycho Brahe d. l.

* Without doubt he meanes the 20 Chapter.

The

The Testimony of *Carolus Gallus*, out of Dr. *Hakewill*, in his Advertisement to *pag.* 476. for I have not the Booke by me.

A Booke written by *Carolus Gallus* a Professour of Divinity in the Universitie of *Leyden*, published in the yeare 1552. and intituled *Clavis prophetica nova Apocalypseos Johannis Apostoli & Evangelographi*. In his Epistle Dedicatory to the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of the *Netherlands*, he professeth it was a worke, *In quo* (saith he) *jam inde a viginti quinque annis*, "*&c.* that is, *In which for these* XXV. *yeares, I have very* "*much laboured, by reading, meditating, searching, writing,* "*disputing, and publiquely teaching both in Churches and* "*Schooles, seeking out and letting slip nothing, which see-*"*med to concerne the finding out of this Divine Treasure.* Now this man after all this travell, search, and study, thus concludes his eight Observation upon the 20. *Chapter* of that Booke. *Breviter spiritus propheticus in hac Jo-*"*hannis Apocalypsi, &c.* that is, *Briefely, the Spirit in* "*this* Revelation *of* John *Prophecyeth concerning the par-*"*ticular and wonderfull Resurrection, renovation, and resti-*"*tution of the Church, that it, in this last Age, shall appeare* "*made one of* Jewes *and* Gentiles, *both living and* "*dead, and more gloriously then ever heretofore, in a wonder-*"*full manner shall live againe from the dead, or first death,* "*and shall be renewed, restored, and flourish againe.*

1. *Thess.*

I THESS. IV. *Commate* 16.

THE DEAD IN CHRIST

[ἐν Χριστῷ, *for Christ*, that is, *The Martyrs*]

SHALL RISE FIRST.

THe interpretation will not seeme strange to any one who knowes, that the same *Paul*, who in his owne words, is δεσμὸς ἐν κυρίῳ, *Ephe.* 4. 1. was a prisoner, or bound for the Lords sake, & the *preposition*, as learned men know, sometimes signifying the cause *propter quam*. That place also *Rev.* 14. 13. οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες, *They that dye in the Lord*, is no otherwise interpreted by some Learned men; for the whole *perlope* or passage there seemes plainely to point at the *Martyrs*, who *verse* 4. are most elegantly called ἀπαρχὴ *The first fruites unto God, and to the Lambe*, as purchased by a particular prerogative *from among men*.

10

A SYNOPSIS, OR CONTRACT VIEW,

Of the Life of *John Armand*, Cardinall of RICHLIEU, great Favorite and *Minister* of State to LEWIS the 13th. King of FRANCE.

To bee Engraven on his Tombe.

First written in Latine, and now *verbatim* rendered English.

Quis legat hæc? ——
Vel duo, vel nemo. PERSIVS.

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fol: 24. 1642.

Printed in the Yeare, 1643.

A SYNOPSIS

OR

CONTRACT VIEW,

Of the Title of Yolo Armand, Cardinall of Richelieu upon Papon Povelle and Alphonso Sanero Lawyers to the King of France.

To bee Interven on his Torne.

Printed in the Yeare, 1643.

Cardinall Richelieu his Epitaph.

THe first thing requested of thee (O Passenger) is, that thou wouldest blesse *Almighty God*, that in *France* thou maist now read these lines *securely*.

Next, wonder, that He whom the Earth was too *straight*, for when he was alive, should be imprisoned in so small a space of ground, now he is dead.

When he had *commoved Earth*, he aspired to rule even *Heaven* it selfe; as appeares by his arrogating to himselfe this *Symbolum*, or *Motto*, MENS SIBERE POLKIT.

And that thou maist understand what kind of *Intelligence* this was; know that he was of a *sagacious* [illegible], but *unquiet*; an Enemy both of the Publike, and of his Privare *tranquillity*.

In a great *Wit*, by many *revered*, not a few that knew him, found a great mixture of *madnesse*.

Hee had a minde that was made worse by every thing; bettered by nothing.

He *stood* thus long, not so much through *favour*, as his *power* with a mightie King: and was happy in the *event* of things, rather then in a prudent mannage of them.

Onely, he was unhappy in the *disfavour* of Almighty God: For having continually conflicted with noysome diseases, he was ignorant of the seat of *happines*, which yet, to the rending both himselfe and others unhappy he sought after.

Nor did he ever ſeeme *happy* even in his owne eyes, as not honeſt in the eyes of thoſe who called him *happy*.

He was vexed with two great tormentors of life, *Choler*, and *Melancholly*. In the flames of the former, and the *fumes* of the latter he continually ſuffered.

So that *venome* which he ſpit *out* to the perdition of others, he could not keepe in without hurt to himſelf.

He outwent moſt men in *Covetouſnes*, all men in *ambition*. A *Waſter* of the Royall Exchequer, but a niggard of his owne Purſe. Cruell if offended; but more cruell where he offended others.

By the conferrings of the Queene Mother he was made rich, by her plottings *preferred*, and by her power made more *potent*. Yet her did hee deprive of the Kings *favour*, of her *liberty*, of her *eſtate*, of *France*, and at laſt of her *life*, ſhe being an exile at *Colleine*. And leſt he ſhould ſpare her when ſhe was dead, he *null'd* her laſt will, and cauſed her corps to lie five months (at the end of which, himſelfe followed her) in her chamber unburied.

The *honour* of *Monſieur* the Kings Brother he violated, and endeavoured to ſupplant even his *Perſon*.

King of *France*. He not onely withdrew the affections of * *Sonne* from Mother, and of * Brother from *Brother*, but of * *Husband* from *Wife*.

Mariliack he cauſed to be beheaded by the greateſt *wrong*. *Montmorancy* by the greateſt *right*, *Cinkmars* partly by *right*, partly by *wrong*; *M. de Thou*, whether by *right* or *wrong* no man knowes.

Some Noble men he condemned to perpetuall *impriſonment*, more to *baniſhment*: but thoſe he drave from *Court* were innumerable.

He proſcribed many, leaſt they ſhould hinder his

deſignes.

designes. Not did milder *France* yet behold so frequent *Punishments*.

Building upon the power of a great King (whom with a great deale of *art* and *study* he deceived) and suppeditated with the wealth of a most fruitfull Kingdome, he spent an infinite number of *Arrowes* in aiming to hit the maine *Marke* which he had missed.

A continuall *working* and *agitation* of mind, backt with many mad attempts, together with a rigid *severity*, and an all-trying *boldnes*, produced a few fortunate *issues*. But hee had soone beene *supplanted*, if among forreigne Enemies he had found some more wary, or among French men (scarse any of whom but were averse to him) had met but with one *Adversary*.

It well befitted him that hardly any body *knew* him, or *believed* those that did.

He was so fortunate, that those of the *Nobility*, as well as of the *Army*, whom he had *irritated*, did yet for his honour, *shed* their owne and others *blood*, whilest himselfe *mingled* his with the Kings.

He had petished in the same designe in which *Sejanus* once *perished*, had he not taken out of the way (O griefe to thinke on) the Royall Count of *Soisson*.

Germany, *Spaine*, *Italie*, and the Low Countries, but especially *France*, will hardly be able in a whole Age to *efface* the bad *impressions* of so *hurtfull* an Autocratie.

Taking pleasure in the miseries both of the Citizens and Suburbers, that he might *feare* these, he danc'd the very *entralls* of those.

Nor did he any whit *indulge* to the sacred *health* of of the King, but disturbed that, whilst with anxieties and various Passions of mind he wore out his *owne*.

The Divine justice first vindicated his *arme* which he had stretched out against heaven. Next it tooke from him the use of his right *Hand*, which had *subscribed to unnecessary warres*. His *arme* eight moneths before his death rotted, by reason of which his hand withered.

And yet (which is a sad thing) he that so plainely felt God an *avenger*, would not plainely enough *acknowledge* him.

This appeares in that he more *basely* exercised his fury upon his private Enemies.

In that, Death approaching, rather out of a politick *Prudence*, then a Christian *Piety*, he commended his *Executors* to the King, more then his *Soule* to God.

In that, a few daies before the *Catastrophe* of his *Tragicke* life, he caused a *Play* of his owne devising (which he called *Europa Triumphans*) to be Acted in the most Royall *Pompe* that could bee (though himselfe could not behold it.)

In that, being a *Cardinall*, he *afflicted* the *Church*, being a *Priest*, he *shed blood*, being a *Christian*, he *forgave no injuries*, and being a *Man*, he yet would not remember himselfe to be *mortall*, even when the wormes crawling out of his many Ulcers did admonish him to how *frayle* and *wofull a mortality* he was obnoxious.

When by all waies (the most impious not unassayed) he had for the space of eighteene yeares prosecuted his *private* ends to the *undoing* of the *Publicke*, he at length arrived to the ordinary *end* of Men, by a death to appearance *peaceable*, but more *lingring* then that of many, whom he had sent before him.

He died at *Paris*, where he had beene borne fifty seven yeares and three moneths before.

Forsaking *France* and his owne house, he seemed to endea-

endeavour the combustion of them both, of that, by an extorted Declaration against the Kings Brother, of this, by a will framed to a womans fancie.

The Dutchesse of Eguillon.

For the rest, nor did the Kingdome of France (being opulent) ever deale with any so bountifully, nor (being of a Genius impatient) did it ever beare with any so continuedly, nor (affecting quietnesse) did it ever part with any so gladly.

I assert these things openly which thou (O Passinger) didst privicly suspect, and in wisdome keptst to thy selfe.

If thou encountrest any one who still doubts, entreat him not to give credit to abused men, nor to corrupted flatterers, but rather to Me who speake nothing but truth, and that out of a conscientious sincerity.

And I would have all men perswaded, that the least justice is more acceptable to God, than the greatest power: that a name is to be esteemed, not for being fat and wide-diffused, but for being good, that to trouble and unsettle many things, is not to doe much, but being unsetled, to compose them, more, to keepe them from being unsetled, most of all.

Prosperous wickednesses are by the multitude accounted for vertues: but doe thou (on the contrary) thinke nothing more wretched, then such thriving impieties.

This egregious *Artisan* of *chaos* (*Richlieu*) deceived many for a *while*, and himselfe haply to *eternity*.

Who (alas) shall reduce to *order* that *confusion* of things which he hath *confused*? who deemed of Peace, because it suited not with his turbulent *braine*, that it was disagreeable even to his *fortune*. From whence

sprang

sprang those many evills which for these last fifteen yeeres have so *oppressed* the Christian World.

Pray, that God would not *eternally* avenge it upon the Author, who needed much *more*, and many of Gods *compassions*, amid his many and great *crimes*.

Doe thou (O Christian seriously perpend, what a *Nothing* that is, which is subject to a momentary vanish, * *None of those whom thou seest clad in Purple, is therefore happie, no more than they whose part in a Comedy allowes them a Robe and Sceptre, who having bin kinde and tip-toes struited it before the staring spectators, as soone as they come to their Exit, are un-pantofled, and returne to their owne stature.*

Seneca.

Furthermore, see how small an *ash heape* he now is who once was so great a *Fire*: how *faint* a *spirit* he now sends forth, who lately darted a splendor so *fierce*, that every one's eyes were thereby *dazzled*.

I wish he prove not a *Fire-brand* to himselfe in the other world, who was so to *Europe* in this.

Poore Europe now hopes for *Peace*, the *fuell* of her *warres* being *extinct*.

I should not eat thee (O Passinger) to pray for him to this so mortal an enemie: even of his own peace: that I feare thou wouldst but trouble him in wishing a thing so him, which he so greatly feared. Yet notwithstanding, in that thou art commanded to love *thy enemies*. If the Peace thou prayest for, *rest on Him*, it will *returne* unto thy selfe. Such was the Commandment of our Saviour, in whom I wish thee (whilst thou *livest*) that thou mayst sweetely *rest* in life, when thou *dyest*. In the meane time, *Farewell*.

Luke 10.

Cessation of Armes. Numb. 8.

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD

To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 14. of *February*, to *Tuesday* the 21. of *Feb.* 1643.

THE *Word* last week, was *Hopes of Peace*, grounded upon a totall *Disbanding*: But the wisdome of the House of Peeres hath thought fit (notwithstanding the Resolution of the House of Commons, backt with strong reasons) to insist upon a Treaty and Cessation (with a limitation) before disbanding, and to resolve to this effect following.

1. *That from the beginning of the Treaty, the time may not exceed twenty dayes.*

2. *That His Majesties Propositions concerning His Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Propositions of both Houses for the disbanding of all Armies may be first Treated of.*

3. *That the remote Armies may be disbanded by the last of March, and sooner if it may be.*

4. *That both Armies in these parts be disbanded by the tenth of April, and sooner if it may be.*

5. *That there may be a present Cessation of all acts of Hostility on both sides, until the Treaty be ended.*

6. *That all other things may continue in the same state, without any further intercourse, or free passage then it is at this present.*

These Votes were Communicated by the Lords (at a Conference) to the Commons (the reasons of them reserved) with this further expression,

That a good accord and agreement was necessary at all times between both Houses, And that at this time, it was not only their *wisdome*, but their *life*: The Commons immediatly fell into debate of the said Votes, and were as tender of a breach with the Lords, as the Lords could be, of a breach with them: and considering the great inconvenience that might ensue (to the hazard of the Kingdome) if there were a division between the two Houses: The wisdome of the House of Commons (though they could not concurre with the Lords so fully as they propounded) held it fit (to preserve unity, and to leave no wayes unattempted, if it may but procure *Peace*, and right understanding between His Majesty and the Parliament) to recede from their former Votes, and to resolve to this effect following.

That there shall be a Treaty upon the Propositions before the disbanding, with this limitation, That so much of His Majesties Propositions as concernes the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Propositions of both Houses for the disbanding of the Armies shall be first Treated of and concluded on, before the proceeding upon any other of the Propositions.

2. *That the Treaty shall begin the fourth of March, or sooner if it may be; and that from the beginning of the Treaty, it may not exceed twenty dayes.*

3. *That for the time of the disbanding, they agree with the Lords.*

4. *That there shall be a Cessation of all acts of Hostility in order to the Treaty upon the Propositions, but that the manner, limitations, and qualifications of this Cessation, shall be ordered according to the advice of the Lord Generall, the Earle of Essex.*

And then certainly neither Sack, Sugars, or Tobacco, Men, Armes, or Ammunition shall be permitted to passe from *London* to *Oxford*, nor any entercourse of Trade whatsoever to be had with them: but to be solely limited to a Cessation from acts of Hostility: These Resolutions the Commons Communicated to the Lord (who agreed unto them) acquainting them further how much the *Peerage* and their posterity were concerned in the good of both Houses, and that the Commons had discended so far, that they could not (with discharge of the trust reposed in them (the representative body of the Commons of *England*) recede from these Votes, desiring to leave no winde unsailed, no Harbour unattempted to bring this Kingdome to the Haven of *Peace*: of such a peace, which may be in the first place for the glory of Almighty God; the establishment of the Protestant Religion (according to Gods Word) the rooting out of those that are enemies to the profession thereof, and the prosperity and happinesse of His Majesty, and his posterity, hoping at last His Majesty will please to hearken to his great and

faithfull

faithfull Counsell the Parliament, who have (for these two yeares and foure moneths, every day (except the Lords day, and the recesse of six weekes) sate continually in consultation of the good and peace of the Kingdome, and preserving themselves and the Kingdome from the plots and conspiracies against them, to the great impairing of their health, prejudice of their estates and fortune, and to the losse of some of their lives, occasioned by their unwearied paines, and continuall attendance.

This Treaty and Cessation ought to be so far from making us secure, and to rest confident that peace will ensue upon it, that nothing lesse is to be expected, and therefore ought to make us prepare the more for war; for if we consider the power of the Irish and English Popish party have still over the King, who have enforced His Majesty (and then tell me, what must not His Majesty doe, if they will have him to break the Treaty) to graunt a Commission under the great Seale of *England*, to Treate with the Catholiques in *Ireland*, that are in Armes against him (whom he hath called Rebels) and who are nominated Commissioners on His Majesties part: the Earle of Saint *Albans*, Mr. *Tho. Burke*, two eminent Recusants, and the last of them a professed friend to the Rebels: It is true, the Lord *Moore*, and the Earle of *Ormond* are Commissioners likewise, but how much discontented they are, not only that a Commission of this nature should be produced, but such notorious Papists (to call them no worse) joyned in Commission with them, and that which startles the said two Lords, and others, Protestants about *Dublin*, most of all, is, that His Majesty hath by severall Messages and Declarations expressed, that for the reducing of those bloody Rebels, he wholly leaves it to His Parliament, and hath by an Act in print declared, *That without the consent of both Houses of Parliament*, He will grant no pardon unto them, nor toleration of Religion, And yet now without consent of both Houses hath made such a progresse towards it: And the Commissioners in obedience to the Commission have sent to the Catholiques (it seemes now no more Rebels) in Armes against the Protestants, to meet at *Drohedah* the first of March, and there they are to Treate, and in how few dayes it may be ended, and their assistance desired to help their brethren, the Catholiques of *England*, to destroy the Parliament, let all the world judge.

Amongst the effecting Causes of the present distractions, it is observeable That the *Porter of the Great Seale* can effect more then the whole place is *Custos Sigilli*.

If it were one Reason (among others) to passe this Vote of Treatie and Cessation, be cause then the Neuters, or persons Malignant would freely con-

His tribute

tribute with maintenance of the Army (in hope of speedy Peace upon the Treatie) it was built upon a sandy foundation; for (as it was said in the last Weekes Intelligence) to trust to them, is to trust to a broken Reede, for it is sufficiently testified by their averseneſſe on Saturday last, notwithstanding the countenance of great Personages. And though Mr. *Cranes* of the City of *London* came to Mr. *Speaker* and others of the House of Commons, and told them in the name of himselfe, and the rest of the Malignants of the City, that they were ready to advance 10000. li. for the maintenance of the Army; so much satisfied were they with a Treaty and Cessation: but how few hundreds they have advanced, it is not worth the mentionning: And to rely on their supplies is to disband without more adoe: As these pretended friends to a Treaty doe faile us whiles the Vote is fresh in their memory; So it is to be wished that the Treaty it self be not made use of to our disadvantage: Nothing but realitie is intended on the Parliaments side; but let every man arme himselfe double during this Treaty, lest it produce the effects of a Catholike Counsell, no Peace, but Warre, and perhaps the Treatie will be neerer *London* then is yet thought of, and an Army within 24. houres march.

It is not amisse to intimate to the Kingdome, what is in preparation for them to take notice of: A Declaration of Parliament, prohibiting all the Judges for going their Circuits, and requiring the people not to give their attendance there, and that such as doe not, shall not be prejudiced by any Verdict, or other proceedings against them, in case any of the Judges at *Oxford* shall presume to goe their Circuit, most of which Judges there, have appointed the Assises to be kept at such unusuall places, as if some designe were there to be acted, to the prejudice of the Kingdome and Parliament: Both Houses would have petitioned his Majestie for the putting off the Assizes, but having had his deniall concerning the Proclamation for adjourning the Terme to *Oxford*, may well expect the like deniall to this.

The Queene of *Bohemia* made knowne to the Parliament (by her Agent) her necessitie for want of the yearely allowance she had wont to receive from *England* (as likewise the *Palsegraves*) which the Parliament with much sense of her misery, and their owne wants, did apprehend, and have (notwithstanding the great streights they are put to for money to keepe life in themselves and the Kingdome (and so unable to helpe themselves) by reason the King hath levied an unnaturall warre against his Parliament, and by reason Prince *Rupert* her Sonne, by his Robberies disables the good Subject to contribute to her maintenance, enriching himselfe by plundring them: Ordered a present course to be taken for returning of some present monies to her Majesty,

and

and the Prince Elector (though not ſo much as they deſire) for the Parliament is as ſufficiently ſatisfied of the good affections of the ſaid Queene and Prince to the Parliament and Kingdome, as they are of Prince *Ruperts* ill affection to both.

The Parliament hath lately committed one Munſieur *de Fountaine* newly come from *Oxford*, who (though hee had ſerved in perſon at the battell of *Keinton*, and confeſſed he had embrued his hands in the blood of the Proteſtants on the Parliament ſide) yet had the boldneſſe to walke in *Weſtminſter* Hall, and by ſome ſleight obtained a Paſport, but by the vigilancy of the Court of guards, was ſtaid in his paſſage, and now remaines in cuſtody.

From *Yorkſhire* the Intelligence is, That the Lord *Fairfaxe* continues ſtill in his Quarters at *Selby* and *Tadcaſter*, and that Sir *Rich: Hutton*, high Sheriffe of the County of *Yorke* hath put forth a Declaration againſt the Lord *Fairfaxe*, That it is Treaſon for any of the *Clubmen* to appeare upon his Lordſhips ſummons, there having appeared upon an occaſion lately about 10. or 1200. of them: But the Parliament (for the former offences of the ſaid Sir *Richard Hutton*, in being the firſt occaſion to levy a War againſt the Parliament, under colour of a pretence of a guard to His Majeſties Perſon at *Yorke*, Requiring Papiſts to bring in Horſes for that end, provided they had *Proteſtant Riders* upon them) have accuſed the ſaid Sir *Rich: Hutton* of high Treaſon.

It is further certified that Generall *King* had a deſigne to force the Quarters of Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, and Sir *Matthew Boynton* at *Maulton* (who after a long fight with Generall *King* at *Yarum* before his comming to *Yorke* had received ſome loſſe, and Captaine *Trotter* a valiant Gentleman, and others taken priſoners) but Captaine *Hotham* having Intelligence thereof, marched early in the morning from *Howden*, and fell upon the Reer of the Enemy on Friday laſt within a mile of *Maulton*, and almoſt routed ten Troopes of horſe, but what Priſoners were taken, or what men ſlaine or hurt, is not certified, onely one Gentleman of the Popiſh Army, who came

(as he ſaid) from Generall *King* to ſpeake with the Governor (as he termed him) diſcharged a Piſtoll at Capraine *Hotham*, but miſſed him, and hee immediatly was apprehended, (but not hanged or killed for it as yet) the Letter onely mentions that hee is in Cuſtodie.

Prince *Rupert* is at *Redding*, a great party of Horſe is come thither, and without doubt the deſigne is this way: Yet ſome ſay it is to intercept Sir *William Waller*, who is on his March to *Glouceſter* Shire to aſſiſt that County: Colonell *Fines* with 5. Troopes, and 100. Dragooneers, are got ſafe to *Briſtoll*.

From the Weſt, Intelligence is ſmall, in regard Sir *Ralph Hopton's* Forces are between this and *Plimouth*, ſo that Letters cannot come ſafe by Land, they therefore ſend by Sea, which cauſeth late Intelligence: Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who (for ought I can heare is ſound of both Armes) before his attempt to take in one of the outworkes neere unto *Plimouth*, went to prayers, with others of his Commanders, that they might have good ſucceſſe; and on their knees in Glaſſes of Sack, uſed ſuch expreſſions as are not fit to be mentioned, as ſome preſent at the time have exactly informed to perſons of credit in thoſe parts, who have certified the ſame hither.

The Lord Chancellor *Loudon*, and ſome other of the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* are come to *Oxford* with a Petition to his Majeſtie from that Kingdome, Audience was not ſo timeouſly granted as was expected, the reaſon was (as is ſaid) becauſe the Lord *Grey*, Sergeant Major Generall of the Forces in *Leiceſterſhire*, &c. had made a ſtay of the Lord *Lenmericke*, Secretary of State for the Kingdome of *Scotland*, whom it ſeemes his Majeſtie deſired firſt to ſpeake with all: The reaſon wherefore the Lord *Grey* made ſtay of him, was not out of any ignoble diſpoſition, but out of a prudent and diſcreet conſideration, having certain Information (which afterwards was confeſſed by the Lo. *Lanmericke*) that he ſtaid at *Newcaſtle* three dayes in hope of the Queens landing, to ſpeak with her Majeſtie. 2. That he went out of his way in his Journey to *Oxford*,

ſford, and went to *Yorke*, where hee ſpeake with the Earle of *Newcaſtle*.

The paſſe the Lord *Lanericke* had, was not to ſtay or goe out of his way to ſpeake with perſons, whoſe endeavours are ſo apparent to the deſtruction of Parliament, for which reaſons the Lord *Grey* made ſtay of his Lordſhip at *Leiceſter*, till the further pleaſure of the Parliament was knowne, who have approved of his action therein, yet have given directions for his releaſement, to permit his Lordſhip to goe to his Majeſty.

Notwithſtanding the Treaty and Ceſſation of Armes, the Parliament is not negligent of their ſecurity: For both Houſes have paſſed an Ordinance for a weekly or monethly Contribution for the maintenance of twenty thouſand men, ſome ſubſcribing for the maintenance of two men, ſome five, ſome ten by the weeke or moneth, for ſix moneths, which moſt can better doe weekly, then pay the ſumme in groſſe for ſuch a ſervice: They have likewiſe fully Rigged and Victualled ſixteen Saile of great Ships, ten of the Kings, and ſixe Merchant men, moſt of them are manned, and proviſion is made for the impreſſing of Sailors to man the reſt, which Fleete may be a meanes to prevent and hinder the miſchiefe intended either out of *Denmarke*, *Dunquerque*, or from the bloody, cruell, and barbarous Rebels in *Ireland*, who have ſo many Agents and friends in *England* to purſue their deſigne, The extirpating the Proteſtant Religion here as well as in *Ireland*: This part of the Fleete will be at Sea by the firſt of March; the Earle of *Warwicke* Commands in chiefe, of whoſe fidelity, the Kingdome hath that experience, that if a Treaty be concluded of, his Lordſhip yet from that imployment can hardly be omitted.

From *Stafford* the newes is, that the Grand Juryman with his Souldiers, had a parley with the high Sheriffe, and it was agreed that the Sheriffe with his Cavaliers ſhould depart the Towne of *Stafford* by a day limitted, which he not performing accordingly, the Grand

Grand Juryman with about seven hundred, came before the Towne againe, and beleaguered it, and sent to Sir *John Gell* to furnish him with a piece of Ordnance, who returned answer, that if he would send a Convoy of an hundred men to fetch and safeguard it, he would keep those hundred raw, and unexperienced Souldiers, and send two hundred of his owne disciplined Souldiers backe to him in their stead, with a piece of Ordnance: the Grand Juryman sent his men, in the interim Master *Henry Hastings* having got intelligence hereof, advanced with 500. horse and Dragooneers to *Leichfield*, purposely to intercept the piece of Ordnance, and defeate the Convoy, but timely notice being given to the Grand Jury man thereof, he sent to make some stay as yet of the Convoy: withall hee hath sent to Sir *William Brereton* for his assistance, who hath promised to furnish him with 4. or 500. horse: So that by the next Post wee have much expectation to heare of the successe, which till then is not likely to be knowne.

Numb. 28.

SPECIALL PASSAGES

And certain Informations from severall places, Collected for the use of all that desire to be truely Informed.

From *Tuesday* the 14. of *February*, to *Tuesday* the 21. of *February*. 1643.

THere hath been great paines and care taken this weeke, to relieve the distressed County of *Glocester*, Sir *William Waller* is at last gone with what moneys and power could be got, but not what was necessary for that service; the Citie are willing, and yet in good part able to support the Armie. There is care taken by the Citie of *London* to preserve themselves as much as may be, they being the butt at which all the Cavaliers shoote, as that (which done) will compleat their victory, make them sole Masters, and present them able to command from us and the Kingdome, a white paper for the Jesuites to write us a Law and Religion in: how ever, we in *London* are resolved they shall buy their power at as deare a rate we can. To Colonell *Mannerings* Regiment, we hope within five dayes to have six or eight thousand right Round-heads (the name of whom is as *Drake* to the *Spaynards*.) listed.

They write out of *Stafford-shire*, that one man of low qualitie hath raised sixtie men, and with them blockt up *Stafford*, and slaine 26. of Sir *Francis Worleys* men, that came out of that Towne. Its hoped the Lord *Brooke* will be there in few dayes, and turne the scales in those parts, being now at *Northampton*, where he expects his Officers being in all 200. at least.

There is great talke that Sir *Ralph Hopton* hath in an Encounter slaine divers *Devonshire*-men, but of that there is no certainty. The siege of *Plimouth* continues, they are within the Towne neere three

thousand fighting men, unanimous provided for a good time. Severall other Letters from the West mention that Sir *Ralph Hopton* and Sir *Bevill Grinfield* declared, that before such a day they would be with the Mayor of *Plimouth* at dinner; a Minister being with them said, they should doe well to say, if it please God, and to pray that it might be so, pray (said they) yes, that they shall see, and thereupon dranke to the destruction of the Parliament, all Round-heads, and *Pyms* God.

The Letters from beyond Sea, tell us, the King of *France* takes all them whom the Cardinall had confined (as unfit for the Court, or affaires of State) into favour againe, and that though the warre for the present be prosecuted with all care and diligence, yet an unhappie peace is feared. The Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* much labouring the same: the *Sweads* are in a good posture, being absolute in *Germany* on this side the *Danow*; and surprize one Towne after another.

Prince *Rupert* is said to be at *Reading*, and to have reinforst that Towne with horse and foote; for certaine 500. horse came in unmolested, which caused an alarum as far as *Windsore*. The Towne may hold out (having provision) very long.

The Lord *Gray* having information, that the Lord *Lanerick* had in his comming from *Scotland* visited *New-Castle*, *Yorke*, and being come to *Leicester*, did there carry himselfe in a suspitious way, laid hold of him, and acquainted the House with it.

They write out of *Darbie-shire*, that the Countrey sent a Petition to the Lord of *New-Castle*, to intreat that free passage might be permitted for some port of Tinne and Lead, and because the Gentleman that went (though no friend to the Parliament) might passe the safer, he took a Papist along with him, the better to ingratiate himselfe with my Lord, and to passe safely; when he came and deliveted his Petition, the Earle answered he could not grant it, because it would be good to *Chesterfield*, *Sheffield*, and other Townes that were friends to the Parliament; The Petitioner replyed, that if the Miners were hindred of their worke, they would plunder the County, and let them, said the Lord *New-Castle*, and I will come and helpe them, and powre boyling oyle upon the rich Chutles, to make them confesse where their money is. This County that was as unanimously right for the Parliament, as any in *England*, for want of heads, and incouragement, is much declined.

They

They write out of *Lincolneſhire*, that that Countie begins to be diſcouraged and complaine, that ſome body is come amongſt them from about *London*, that hath ſo buſſled among the Lords and Gentlemen, that divers of them are thinking how to ſit downe and ſave themſelves, who but a few weekes ſince, to the number of neere ten thouſand men, would have chearfully gone together againſt a common Enemy.

The Lords on Fryday trandemitted their vote, which was that a ceſſation of Armes be for twenty dayes, and in the interim a Treatie to the Artiele concerning the Fleet and Forts of the Kingdome, that by conſent of the three Eſtates, perſons might be put in truſt that all might confide in.

The Commons tooke the ſame into conſideration, and firſt reſolved in the Negative, that the Houſe ſhould not be turned into a Committee to debate the ſame; after five houres debate, it could not be agreed to conſent to the Lords vote; at laſt a Gentleman ſtood up and moved, that there might be ſomewhat added or altered in the Qu: which was aſſented unto, and after ſome banding, it was reſolved, that his Majeſtie conſenting to a disbanding, there ſhould be a Treatie upon the aforeſaid Propoſition of the Ships and Forces, before all was disbanded.

The Letters from *Holland* mention that the Queene put to Sea thurſday the ninth of this inſtant moneth; the winde having been all this while faire, ſhee is in all probabilitie landed in ſome part of the Kingdome of *England*: the Letters mention, there is an incredible quantitie of powder and other Ammunition, and all ſorts of Engins for deſperate expeditions in the field, or for the ſiege of Townes.

The Letters that come from *Cheſhire* ſay, that Sir *William Brereton* lies ſtill at *Nantwich*, calling together the Countrey, to their great trouble, but doth nothing as yet.

Saterday the Lords inſiſted upon the weekly Ceaſement, and laid upon the Citie but eight thouſand pound a weeke, they laid alſo two thouſand pound upon *Middleſex*, and the like proportion upon *Southwarke* and *Surrey*, and out of that which the Citie is to pay, they have allowed three thouſand pound a weeke for the maintenance of a Guard for the Citie: divers particulars beſides are in the Ordinance.

The Commons the ſame day agreed to a Ceſſation of Armes for twenty dayes, but no trade nor commerce during the ſaid Ceſſation and Treatie.

A Common Counſell was this day called, where was ſeverall of the Lords and Commons, the buſineſſe was matter of money for payment of the Armie, which in great numbers run away for want thereof to the enemy.

They of the Common Counſell preſent ſubſcribed for the Loane of ſix thouſand pound, and agreed to recommend the buſineſſe to the ſeverall Pariſhes by the Miniſters the next day: many in the Citie, who have hitherto borne the maine burthen of the charge of the warre, were deſirous in recompence of former diſburſements, and as an eaſe and incouragement for time to come to deliver in ſome Propoſitions to the Parliament, relating to them and the Armie, and accordingly did, but for ſome reaſons they were not preſented.

The Propoſitions were to this effect.

1. That the Lords and Commons be pleaſed to aſſure us, ſo much as in them lyes, that they will ſpeedily enter into a ſolemne Covenant, to live and dye with the Citie in the maintenance of the Cauſe undertaken, and this to be expreſſed in ſuch particulars, as they conceive beſt.

2. That they will, ſo farre as in them lyes, promote the regulating and reducing the Armie, two or three Regiments into one, two Troopes into one, and ſo ſetting by the ſuperfluous Officers, (and that all Officers, Captaines, and upwards) may have onely the moyetie of their pay in Arreere actually now payd, the reſt to be payd by pubique faith; which condition alſo we humbly deſire, may be moved to all Officers, Captaines, and upwards for the future.

3. That the whole body attending his Excellency, may not conſiſt of above twelve thouſand horſe and foote, by the pole, whereof three thouſand horſe and Dragooneers to be alwayes in action, to ſecure the Counties, and to diſſipate the enemies ſtrength, and

and as his Excellency hath begun this ſervice already, and deſigned Sir *William Waller*, and Colonell *Browne* to it, wee further deſire, that ſo many more of the beſt affected in the Army, as may make up the aforeſaid number of three thouſand, may be added to Sir *William Waller*, and the Lord *Roberts*, joyned in that Commiſſion,

4. That upon the diſcharging the arreeres in the forme expreſſed, his Excellency would accept of payments to every Regiment, according to an Order of the Houſe of Commons.

5. That the Lords and Commons doe move his Excellency, to take ſome ſpeedie courſe to take up a good ſupply of horſe and Dragooneers, ſpecially out of thoſe Counties, where the enemy may be ſuſpected to come; and alſo in other Counties under his Excellencies protection, and which are more ſecure, more ſparingly, and with all ſaving to Commerce and Tillage, Commiſſaries being appointed to rate the ſaid Horſes, as in *London*.

6. That my Lord Generall his Excellency, and the Councell of Warre, may be moved to actuate his Excellencies Orders, pertaining to ſtrict Diſcipline, long ſince publiſhed to the Armie, without that tendernes of the Subjects Libertie, and the Law, which wee humbly conceive is ſuperſeded by the preſent neceſſitie.

7. That the aſſeſſement for the twentieth part, be purſued, notwithſtanding the ſumme of money in preſent to be rayſed, till it be all levied; and alſo that the Lords and Commons would promote by all good and ſpeedie meanes, the Ordinance for the weekly Aſſeſſement, and what other way they in their Wiſdomes ſhall thinke fit, as well out of the Counties as the Citie, for timely and conſtant ſupplyes for the Armie, that we may not be hereafter reduced to ſuch Exigencies as this.

Theſe particulars being aſſented unto, wee ſhall not onely endeavour to accommodate the State with the preſent ſum deſired, but

to our utmoſt, labour to continue a conſtant ſupply, upon all occaſions, as need ſhall require for time to come.

The Lady of *Denbigh*, had ſo ſore a fit at her laſt being at Sea, that it coſt her her life immediately after her comming to land.

The Commons on Munday conſidered that unhappy difference between the Souldiers and the Watermen at *Lambeth* upon Sunday, wherein one man was ſlaine, and divers hurt. The occaſion of the difference is ſaid to be this; a Souldier ſate with his hatte on, either at the Reading of the Chapters, or the Common Prayers, or both, which the Church-wardens perceiving, rebuked him, but he perſiſted in his fooliſh and unmannerly carriage; Whereupon a Waterman came and pulled off his hatte, and ſtruck him, and from thence the quarrell grew; the Souldiers withdrew to their Court of guard, and as the beſt reports are, were deſirous to be quiet; but the violence of the Watermen, and others, put them on with ſtones and ſtaves; which the Souldiers ſeeing, and that by no meanes they would be kept off, let flie at them, killing one, and ſhooting another in the thigh. It hath ſtill been the unhappines of theſe troubleſome times, that when things have been drawing to a compoſier, then ſome ill accident did interveine.

The Letters from the Weſt ſeeme to intimate ſome ſmall Skirmiſh between Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the *Devonſhire-men*, but it is not certaine, how ever, they are drawne neere together.

The Letters from *Yorkeſhire* tell of a partie of horſe about a thouſand, that was ſent from *Yorke* to *Pocklington*, ſome 8. miles diſtant, where Maſter *Hotham* was quartered, which the vigilant Generall the Lord *Fairefax* having knowledge of, ſent a partie to fall upon the arreere of them, which was done with that good ſucceſſe, that they were for the moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners; one of the priſoners underſtanding which was the Commander in chiefe, rid up and diſcharged upon Maſter *Hotham*, but miſt him, after the partie was taken, and is to truſſe for it.

There was a Letter intercepted this weeke, carrying for *Oxford*, it was a Letter ſent by Captaine *Ogle*, one of the ſetters in *Weſtminſter Hall*: he ſent it to Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* (it is that Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*, that got out of the Sergeants mans hands, and after went between a

paire

paire of panyers in old ragged cloathes to *Oxford*, whom his Majeſtie would needs ſee in the ſame poſture, and was pleaſed to honour at his approach with the title of, *Little old faithfull Farmer*) this Letter had in it an intimation that all things were ready, according to his deſire & direction, onely the want of ſome thouſands of pounds.

There is great ſtore of money come this Monday into *Guild Hall*, ſo that its hoped the 60000. li. will be forthwith ready, God grant the conditions or propoſitions be as well peformed.

Mancheſter the 18. *of February.*

We have been wonderfully delivered this weeke out of our enemies hands; for upon thurſday laſt at *Bolton*, the enemy came upon our men in ſuch an unexpected ſuddaine and violent manner, that they quickly ſeazed upon our out-workes; but they were againe beaten off with ſuch undaunted courage of our Souldiers, that they were glad to flie in a confuſed manner; on our ſide was ſlaine five common Souldiers, but how many of theirs cannot be eaſily gueſſed, by reaſon of their uſuall ſleights of convayance, for in many places were found ſome quantity of them dead, in one houſe no leſſe then ten, beſides not a few that were dangerouſly wounded.

Newes came hither laſt night, that our partie ſent hence had taken *Lancaſter*, and that Captaine *Birch* is left there Governour for us: but of the truth of this Letter, you ſhall heare by the next Poſt.

A more perticular letter from *Mancheſter* 18. *Febr.*

On Thurſday morning laſt, the enemie approached the Towne of *Bolton*, with the forces from *Wigon* at the top of the picks (which is within a mile of the towne) before that there was any certaine intelligence brought unto them within, ſo that the enemie was in view before they were a ware; and marching furiouſly on, their horſes preſently ſurrounded the towne, and by the guidance of ſome of our neighbours that were amongſt them, and of the company, ſo obſerved the ways and bridges, that if they ſaw any come into the aide of the Towne, they preſently Road at them; and tooke their Armes from them, ſuch as they had, pitch-forks and the like; but not many where thus met with, for upon the ſight of the horſe, the unarmed men rather drew backe for the preſent, being no conſiderable number, and the foot came marching downe towards *Braaſhaw-gate* end, where there was a great worke, and ſome company of musketeers placed therein, but the enemie ſo furiouſly

furiously set upon them at that place, both with muskets and great Cannon, that they forced them out of that worke (but there was another worke at *Hardmans* of the crosses) and presently they having wheeled about, got betwixt us and the towne; and forced Captaine *Ashurst* (who kept that end of the towne) to retreat towards the towne, and the truth is, he had stayed so long in the worke, that the enemie began to breake in upon them, in so much that they came to hand blowes, whereby the Captaine slew one man with his Skeane, & one of his souldiers thrust another through with his pike, the enemy having taken the foresaid workes, came to the houses that lay without the Chaine, and fired one of them, got into some others, and shot out of them, and then fired another lone house on the backside, and then fired a third house or barne with hay in it: and at last beat our men from the houseside at the mud wall end, so that they were forced to fall backward and loose ground; but as it pleased God, the Cap. Leiuetenant and Souldiers so well expressed their undaunted courage, that they sent them such stormes of bullets into the houses as powdered them to purpose: Then Captaine *Ashurst* with some 16. musketeers breake through a house and shot a while with good successe, and afterwards seeing them march up madly, commanded them all to shoote at once, and to store the enemie if possible they could; which through Gods providence they did, and so beate them off that they durst not come up any more, but drew away their dead, and bleeding souldiers, stayed further of and perceiving the shouts of the Country people, that came in in great numbers, tooke what they could suddenly, and glad they could get away.

The Lord hath given us respite for a little time, that we may prepare for another bout. It may be they wil not let the matter rest thus. Our word was, *God is my helpe*, and he was so indeed; for he helped us against them that els would have devoured us. It is credibly reported, that as the enemies got into the houses, they were (heard) commanded to fire the houses as they went, and that if any called for quarter, they should not heed them, but slay and kill all, man, woman, and children. Oh the horrid cruelty that these men have attained too, nothing now but fire and sword, kill and slay. But I trust the God that hath delivered, and doth deliver, will still yet deliver, though not for our merit, yet for his mercies sake. To whom be praise and glory for ever and ever.

A 13

TRUE CHRISTIAN SVBIECT

Vnder an Heathen *PRINCE:*

OR

TERTVLLIANS Plea for Allegiance, argued in time of the sixth Persecution, under the Emperour SEVERVS. *Ann. Dom.* 204.

With a Briefe Application, to the Citizens of

LONDON.

Written by a MEMBER of the HOUSE of

COMMONS.

OXFORD,
Printed by *Henry Hall An. Dom.* 1642.

A TRVE CHRISTIAN Subiect under a Heathen Prince;

or TERTVLLIANS plea for Allegiance, argued in time of the sixth Persecution under the Emperour SEVERVS. *Ann. Dom.* 204.

Apol. ca. 30. *PRecantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, Imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt.* Cap. 33. *Imperatorem* Dominus *noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, noster est magis* Cæsar, *ut à* Deo nostro *constitutus, itaque ut meo plus illi operor in salutem.* Cap. 36. *Idem sumus Imperatoribus, qui & vicinis nostris; malè enim velle, malè facere, malè dicere, malè cogitare de quoquam ex æquo vetamur.*

WE alwayes pray for all Emperors that they may enjoy a long Life, secure Empire, safe mansion, strong Armies, faithfull Counsell, good Subjects, quiet times, and whatsoever may be his wish as a man, and as a *Cæsar*: it is our *Lord* who hath chosen the Emperour: and I may justly say, *Cæsar* is more ours then yours, as being constituted by *our God*: and therefore I doe more labour for his safety, he being my King. We are the same to the Emperours, as we are to our own neighbours, for wee are equally forbidden to wish ill, do ill, speak ill, think ill of any mã.

Quodcunque non licet in Imperatorem, id nec in quenquam: quod in neminem, eo forsitan magis nec in ipsum quiper Deum tantus est. Hesterni sumus, & vestra omnia implevimus, Vrbes, Insulas, Castella, Municipia, Conciliabula, Castra ipsa, Tribus, Decurias, Palatium, Senatum, Forum, sola vobis relinquimus Templa. Cui bello non idonei, non promptifuissemus, etiam impares copijs, quitamlibenter trucidamur? Si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quàm occidere. Potuimus & inermes, nec Rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes solius divertii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis, suffudisset utique Dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imò

What soever is not lawfull against the Emperour, is unlawfull toward any other: what may be done unto no man, so much the rather may not be done unto him, who through God is so great a man, We are but of yesterday, yet have wee filled all places among you, Cities, Islands, Cittadels, Boroughs, Assemblies, your very Campe, your Tribes of the common people, Decuries of the Iudges, the Palace, the Senate, the Iudicatories, we onely leave to you your Temples. For what Warr are not wee fit and ready, though wee were fewer in number. who so willingly are put to death? But that wee are taught that it is more lawfull to be slaine, then to kill. Wee (even without Armes, and without Rebelling) if wee differed from you in the ill will of a Division only, could fight enough against you. For if we (so great a force) should breake from you into any remote corner of the world, so great a losse of Citizens (such as wee are, what so-

etiam

etiam & destitutione punisset. Procul dubio expavisse tis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum, & stuporem quemdã quasi mortuæ urbis quæsisse tis quibus in ea imperasse tis. Plures hostes quàm cives remansissent. Nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis præ multitudine Christianorum penè omnium civium, penè omnes cives Christianos habendo.

ever you thinke of us) would undermine your Empire: I, and punish you enough even with a meere desertion. Without all doubt, you would have started at your owne solitude, at the dumbnesse of things, and in a certaine amazement as of a dead City, you would have enquired for people over whom to reigne. You would have found more enemies, than Citizens. For, even now you have the fewer enemies, by reason of the multitude of Christian Citizens, having almost all Citizens Christian among you.

Application to the Citizens of famous LONDON.

Thus *Tertullian*, from the very Principles of our *Christian* Religion, doth plead the harmelesse innocency, the willing obedience, and due subjection of primitive *Christians*, even to irreligious heathen, & to persecuting Kinges. Is Religion Changed? or have our Princes lesse duty owing unto them then the Heathen had? Is *Buchanan* wise, & *Tertullian* a foole; Is *Machiavell* true, and *Tertullian* false? Are *Iunius Brutus*, *Burrowes*, *Parker*, *Pryn*, — good subjects, and was *Tertullian* a Traytor? will you value

value seditious Pamphlets, and despise the ancient when they speake Orthodoxe? Are we lesse bound to the sacred Text then our Fathers were? Is our Charter of Liberties more then God gave to his first Saintes? Have we leave to be lesse *Christian*, then they were? Is *Charles* a Persecuter, or was *Severus* a Pious Prince? It is a shame to plead so plaine a cause, Noe salve can cure a willfull distrust, Three thinges there are, which once (deepely) infected, are never fully cured: *Heresy*, *Lunacy*, and *Iealousy*, But God confound their Purposes, who not being doubtfull in themselves, do yet create and nurse up the *Iealousies* of others, wherewith to work their owne darke ends. Miserable are the people who Resolue to see onely with their eares. Demonstration will not convince them. Their eare is tickled that here is an Army of Papists, when yet we goe to the Protestant Church, and there performe all the opposites to papall superstition. Awake, and see how your soules are sotted, by giveing them up to these deluſions. Ease your selves and us by owning the goodnesse of our King, who gladly would owne your love in adue subjection. Spare your selves, your wives, your fortunes, and your children. All are now ready to be exposed for that which may be given you without a stroke; Nay which is offered to you, and is onely hindered by the wicked misinterpretation of a few false men about you. Do not say you desire peace, but give it to us and to your selves by leaving impeache Traytors to stand or fall alone. What is *Pym* what are *Hollis*, *Hampden*, *Haselrig*, and *Strode*, what *Kimbolton*, and a few men more that they may not undergoe the tryall of our Lawes? Aske any one of them alone, and if hee have not innocency enough to offer himselfe

to

to the tryall, yet he will have ſhame enough to ſay, hee is not affraid to be tryed: Hee hath not braſſe enough to ſay, I will not be tryed by the Law of the Land. whether theſe men (and others) be guilty or innocent, will you for ever undoe this Kingdome, rather then let us know whether they be innocent or no? what have they deſerved that you and thouſands more muſt feele the ſword, for them that were the cauſe to unſheath it? who ever did or will do vnto us ſo, as they have done? who ever laboured to raiſe us up into our juſt liberties, as the King hath done? The King doth plead our Lawes for us, and they pay him againe with Votes. The King doth owne our true Religion, whilſt a faction among you, doth cherish and multiply Schiſmes with good allowance. His Majeſty doth argue the Subiects Liberty, whilſt wee are by fellow Subjects rifled and impriſoned. Hee thought to have enjoyed his owne Property in *Hull*, and was denyed; but Prophecied then that theſe men next would invade your property alſo, as now is done. Looke to the twentieth part, which is but a ſetting dogge to ſhew where the covey of nineteen are, what hopes have you of prevailing in this warre ſo full of doubts, changes, neceſſities, feares, diſtruſts; and ſo many among you (even of your Leaders) truer to the King, then you wiſh or are aware of? I ſpeake the freedome of a friend, Do not put us to winne the King his right againe with our ſwords: perhaps the concequences may reach farther then we wiſh, or you yet do feare. And what would you do, if you ſhould once prevaile? how often muſt you fight again and and again: how many victories upon victories muſt you get, and yet fall ſhort againe?

againe? for our Gratious *King*, and our deare black Prince shall shall revive with new strength to subaue you. God cannot leave the *King* in this the iustest warre (on his side) that ever *Christian* drew a sword in. Giue up those few traytor citizens among you. Lay down your armes, and give the land no farther cause to wish our best City a heape of stones.

Your friend, more then

they who Vote for Warre,

IRENÆVS PHILOPOLIS.

FINIS.

14

PROPOSITIONS

Agreed upon at a Court of Common Councell,

In *Guild Hall* London. *Feb.* 21. 1642.

rinted at *London* by *Richard Cotes*, Printer to the Honorable City of *London*. 1642.

PROPOSITIONS

Agreed upon at a Court of

Common Council,

In Guild Hall London. Feb. 1642.

Commune Concilium tentum in Camera Guild-hall *Civitatis* London, *vicesimo primo die* Februarii 1642. *post meridiem, Annoque Regni Domini nostri* Caroli, *nunc Regis* Angliæ, &c. *decimo octavo, coram* Isaac Pennington *Majore, secundo tempore, Civitatis* London, Jacob. Garrad *Milite*, Thoma Atkin, Johan. Wollaston *Milite*, Thoma Adams, Johan. Warner, Georgio Garret *Milite*, Johan. Fowke, Jacobo Bunce, Willi. Gibbs, & Richardo Chambers, *ejusdem Civitatis Aldermannis, ac* Johan. Langham *Aldermanno & uno vicecomitum Civitatis prædicta, necnon majore parte Communariorum de Communi Concilio prædicta Civitatis tunc & ibidem Assemblat.*

THis day Master Alderman *Fowke* made report unto this Common-Councell, that himselfe and the rest of the Committees appointed by Order of Common-Councell, held the Eighteenth of this instant *February*, did accordingly yesterday humbly informe both Houses of Parliament, that their desire of the Loane of threescore thousand pounds to supply the Army signified by divers of the Lords and Commons to the said Court was taken forthwith into consideration. And notwithstanding the great summes formerly lent by the City, they did with much chearefullnesse and alacrity vote to do their uttermost indevour to raise the said summe with all expedition.

And for the better promoting the ſaid Worke, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Commons then preſent, did each declare what they would lend reſpectively towards the furniſhing therof. And cauſed an Order to be preſently made and Printed, and ſent out to the Miniſters of the ſeverall Pariſhes, to be publiſhed in the Churches, and to ſtirre up the Pariſhioners effectually to advance the remainder of the ſaid threeſcore thouſand pounds. And that the Common Councell men and Church-wardens ſhould repaire to every Inhabitant and Lodger within their ſeverall Pariſhes, and perſwade them unto this good work. And the ſaid Committee did further make report, that they did then alſo humbly preſent to both houſes of Parliament, the ſcope and intent of ſuch and ſo many of the Propoſitions referred unto them to be preſented, being to incourage the Subſcriptions of the ſaid threeſcore thouſand pounds, as in ſo ſhort a time they could conceive fit and needfull. And that the Lords and Commons in Parliament did returne thankes to this Common Councell for their great care and readineſſe in promoting the advancement of the ſaid threeſcore thouſand pounds by them deſired, and that they would take the ſaid Propoſitions into due conſideration, The briefe heads whereof were after taken by the Clerke of the Houſe of Peeres. And a Coppy thereof was here now openly read in this Court, and approved of, and Ordered to be entred, The tenor whereof is as followeth.

1. That both Houſes would vouchſafe to advance the raiſing of threeſcore thouſand pounds by their owne example, and by paying it in to the Treaſurers at *Guild-hall*, to the end that the light may incourage others.

2. That they may be eaſed in the rates of the weekely Aſſeſſements, becauſe it exceeds the proportion of the Counties, if it be not too late.

3. That the three thouſand pounds *per* moneth granted out of the weekly Aſſeſſements, may be made foure thouſand pounds *per* moneth.

4. That the Citizens Lands and houſes in the Country, may not be rated for the weekely Aſſeſſements, ſo as they pay in *London*

5. That in regard they are informed that divers miſ-informa-

tions

tions have beene made concerning the City of *London*, by private perſons, It is humbly deſired that hereafter no ſuch credit may be given thereunto, as to be accompted the ſence of the City, unleſſe it proceed from the Court of Aldermen, or Common Councell, ſignified by ſpeciall Meſſengers of their owne, or by the Burgeſſes directed by one of the ſaid Courts.

6. That it will much promote the ſaid Service if the money Aſſeſſed by vertue of divers Ordinances be collected forthwith in *London* and other parts of the Kingdome, that the charge may not wholly lie upon the willing part, for that otherwiſe the well-affected will be either deſtroyed with them, or for them; with them if they ſhould refuſe as others doe; or for them, by contributing alone to the publike ſafety, more then their eſtates will beare.

7. That ſearch may be made without the Liberties in the parts adjacent for ſuſpected perſons, and that upon the disbanding thoſe that are called the Kings Army may be enjoyned to go to their ſeverall habitations, and not to come to *London*, to the diſturbance of the peace, ſafety, and welfare of the ſaid City, and of the good government thereof; and that during the time of the Treaty and Ceſſation, none of the ſaid Army may be permitted to come to the City.

8. That to prevent miſapprehenſions and jealouſies concerning the preſent proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, about the Treaty and Ceſſation, and disbanding; it is humbly prayed it may be declared that the reſolutions of both Houſes is the ſame, as at the firſt, that nothing ſhall be done but that which tends to the ſecurity of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, the juſt Liberties of the Subjects, and Priviledges of Parliament.

9. That the Ordinances of the weekly Aſſeſſements may paſſe forthwith for the ſecurities of the re-imburſing of the threeſcore thouſand pounds, which otherwiſe will not be raiſed.

Alſo this Court taking into conſideration the reſidue of the particulars referred unto the ſaid Committee to be preſented to both houſes of Parliament, and the ſaid Committees opinion thereupon; and apprehending that the propoſitions lately ſent

to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament, doe eminently tend to the preſervation of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, and to a Reformation of what is amiſſe in Church and Common-wealth, doe order the ſaid Committee to render from this City all humble thankfulneſſe to both the ſaid Houſes for their great care therein, and to preſent their farther humble deſires as followeth.

Firſt, that his Excellency, the Earle of *Eſſex*, be deſired to take order:

1. That the broken Regiments, and Troopes in his Army may be reduced and made 1200. in each Regiment, and 80. in each Troope, to the end that the exceſſive charge of paying more Officers then are neceſſary, may be avoided, and the Counties which want Officers may be ſupplied, and ſuch as are moſt ſcandalous may be caſheerd.

2. That ſpeciall care be taken that the common Souldiers be duly paid from time to time, without which they cannot ſubſiſt, and that for the better affecting thereof (a great part of them being raiſed out of the City) that an honeſt able man be there choſen for each Regiment of horſe & foot reſpectively, to muſter & pay the ſaid Souldiers, and view their Armes, cauſing them to be made good according to the rules of War, and that fit allowance be given to the ſaid Paymaſters for their Service.

3. That in regard this unhappy and unnaturall Warre is lengthned out beyond expectation, and the Officers of the ſaid Army have already received great pay, and are engaged in the publike cauſe as well as others, who have lent great ſummes of mony to pay them, that therefore they will ſo farre expreſſe their good affections to the King and Parliament, as to forbeare one halfe of their arrears and future pay upon the publike Faith.

4. That the ſaid Officers and Souldiers may take ſuch an oath as is uſed in times of warre in other countries to be faithfull to thoſe that imploy them, and from whom they receive their pay.

5. That ſuch priſoners as already are or hereafter ſhall be taken

ken by any of the ſaid Army if they cannot bee enterchanged, may be uſed as they are or ſhall be uſed which are or ſhall bee taken by thoſe who are called the Kings Army.

6. That all unneceſſary charges about the traine of Artillery and otherwiſe bee taken away, and that honeſt and able paymaſters be thereto appointed, who may carefully enquire and repreſent what charges are ſuperfluous.

2. That in the intended treaty ſuch care bee taken for the indemnity of the Citie, and Citizens of *London*, and of the priviledges thereof as may ſecure them, and be a witneſſe to the preſent and future generations of their fidelity to the King and Parliament.

3. That our dangers being great and our ſinnes greater (whereof we have beene ſeaſonably put in minde by a late Ordinance of both houſes of Parliament) there may be a Religious covenant and firme aſſociation forthwith entred into by the Lords and Commons, Citie, Army, and all well-affected in the Kingdome, according to a promiſe publikely made at a Common Hall, in the name of both the ſaid Houſes; in expectation whereof the Citie then freely lent one hundred thouſand pounds. And that the Rents, Revenues, Goods, Monies and Eſtates of ſuch as ſhall refuſe to enter into that Covenant and Aſſociation be imployed in ſuch manner and proportion as both the ſaid Houſes ſhall thinke fit and their perſons ſecured for the good and ſafety of the Kingdome.

FINIS.

SIR

Benjamin Rudyerd

HIS

SPEECH

IN

THE HIGH COVRT

OF

PARLIAMENT

The 17. of *February*, for a ſpeedy Treaty of PEACE with

His Majeſtie.

LONDON,

Printed for MICHAEL YOUNG, 1643.

Benjamin Brudyard

SPEECH

IN

PARLIAMENT

Sir *Benjamin Rudyerd* his Speech in the High Court of Parliament, the 17. of *February*, for a ſpeedy Treaty of Peace with his *Majeſty*.

Mr Speaker.

I Doe verily, That the Vote we have already paſs'd, For the Diſbanding the Armies the firſt and tenth of March, will finde us no farther on our way, then where we now are, beſides the ill Accidents that may happen,

pen, and ſo much precious time ſpent, as till then.

Sir, *The Main Buſineſſe is, whether we ſhall have a preſent Treatie or no? and this concerns us in all that we Have, and Are Since we Refuſed a Treaty at* **Nottingham**, *I doe not find that we have gotten much ground, although our Army then was freſh, full, and full paid; the People erect, bountifull, and forward to the warre.* **Now**, *the Diſpoſition of the Kingdome, for the greateſt part, ſtands bent towards a Peace: ſo that whereſoever the Refuſall, or Delay of the way to it ſhall be fixt, the Diſadvantage will fall on that ſide. How cleare ſoever the Intentions of the Houſe are, yet abroad it will be taken but as a ſhew without Reality,*

and

and ſo it will be returned upon us.

For the Propoſitions, I have not known, nor heard, that all the Propoſitions in any Treaty of Importance, were ever ſwallowed whole. If ſome be harſh and rough, they may be wrought and ſuppled by wiſe Treaters, made fit for an acceptable agreement. If other be unpaſſable, they may be totally rejected. Thoſe that are our unqueſtionable Rights, may be ſo claim'd, and held.

Mr Speaker, *We have already taſted the bitter bloudy fruits of warre, we are growne exceedingly behindhand with our ſelves ſince we began it: if we perſiſt, there will ſuch a confluence of Miſchiefs break in upon us, as I am afraid will ruin the King, the Kingdome, the Nation; unleſſe God*

be mercifull to us, and doe ſtep in with a great Miracle, for a little one will not ſerve our turne.

I have long and thoughtfully expected, that the cup of trembling which hath gone round about us to other Nations, would at length come in amongſt us. It is now come at laſt, and we may drink the Dreggs of it, the worſt; which God divert.

There is yet ſome comfort left, that our Miſeries are not likely to laſt long. For, we cannot fight here as they doe in Germany, *in that great, large, vaſt continent: where although there be warre in ſome parts of it, yet there are many other remote quiet places, for trade and tillage to ſupport it. We muſt fight as in a Cock-pit, we are ſurrounded with the ſea. We have*

no

no ſtronger Holds, then our owne Sculls, and our own Ribs, to keep out enemies; ſo that the whole Kingdome will ſuddenly be but one flame.

It hath been ſaid in this Houſe, that we are bound in conſcience to puniſh the ſhedding of innocent bloud: but Sir, *who ſhall be anſwerable for all the innocent bloud which ſhall be ſpilt hereafter, if we doe not endeavour a Peace, by a ſpeedy Treaty? Certainly, God is as much to be truſted in a* Treatie, *as in a warre: it is He that gives wiſdome to treat, as well as courage to fight, and ſucceſſe to both, as it pleaſeth Him. Bloud is a crying ſinne, it pollutes a land: why ſhould wee defile this land any longer?*

Wherefore

Wherefore Mr Speaker, *Let us ſtint Bloud as ſoon as we can. Let us agree with our Adverſaries in the way, by a preſent, ſhort, wary Treaty. God direct us.*

FINIS.

K. P. London Special passages for Parl.

A 16 Number 33

CONTINVATION

Of certain Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to both Houses of Parliament and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome, from Thursday the 16. of February, till Thursday the 23. of February 1642.

Containing these particulars, *viz.*

1. A true Relation of some late informations given to the Parliament from their Committee in Ireland, of a Commission granted by his Maiesty to some Lords in that Kingdome to treat with the Rebels there for the laying downe of their armes.
2. A true relation of divers ships provided by the Irish Rebels to transport forces into this Kingdome as is conceived.
3. Of the proceedings of the Parliament concerning the said informations, and an Order for the setting forth of sixteene saile of Ships by the first of March next to guard the Seas
4. A true relation of two severall letters from Holland one of them specifying the Queenes late putting to Sea, and the other what provisions she bringeth along with her.
5. A true relation of some late letters from Oxford, of some late newes from thence and Reading, and the proceedings of the Kings Army, and Prince Rupert
6. A true Relation of the full agreement of the two Houses of Parliament, for the Treaty and Cessation of Armes, and the votes they have made ready to send to his Maiesty about the same.
7. An Order of Parliament for the speedy raising of more moneyes, and men, for the guard of the City and other parts notwithstanding the Treaty.
8. A Declaration of the Houses for the putting by of the next Assizes throughout the Kingdome, for the reasons specified.
9. A true Relation of the latest news from Cheshire of the prosperous proceedings of Sir William Bruerton.
10. A true relation of a late victory obtained by the Lord Fairfax against the Popish army in Yorkshire.
11. A true discovery of a late treacherous conspiracy against Captain Hotham by the said Popish army.
12. A true Relation of a Letter from his Maiesty to both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday last, and the proceedings of the Houses concerning the same.

A CONTINVATION OF Certaine Speciall and Remarkable passages informed to both Houses of Parliament, and otherwise from divers parts of this Kingdome.

From Thursday the 16. of February, till Thursday the 23 of *February*, 1642.

THe Houses of Parliament have lately received letters from the Kingdome of Ireland, from the hands of the Committee resident there, informing them of the lamentable condition of the protestants under the Bloody Cruelty of the Rebels. And that notwithstanding his Majesties severall Messages and Declarations to the Parliament, and hath passed an Act, that without their consent he would grant no pardon unto them, nor toleration of their Religion, nevertheless there is a Commission procured from his Majesty under the great Seale of England, and sent into that Kingdom, giving power to the Earle of Ormond, the Lord Moore, The Earle of S. Albans an eminent Papist, and some others to treat with the Catholikes in Ireland (for so they are termed and not Rebels) for the laying downe of their armes, and disbanding of their forces, and upon the agreement of the Treaty, that the Protestant forces shall also be disbanded, and lay downe their armes. And that by vertue of the said commission there is a day pre-

prefixed for a Treaty viz. the first of March next, which businesse hath occasioned a great jealousie amongst a many, who feare that the said Commission is unduly procured by the evill affected party about his Majesty on purpose to quiet the Rebells and end the warre there, that so they may with more freedome come hither and assist the Cavaliers to subdue this Kingdome, and roote out the Protestant Religion; and afterwardes obtaine there own ends of Ireland.

And that which further strengthens the jealousies of this businesse, is an other letter sent from Ireland, by which it is informed that there are divers Vessells provided in a readinesse, at one of the Rebells ports in Ireland, which may with much ease convay them into the West part of England, to Falmouth, and Pendennis Castle, commanded by their sure friend Sir Nicholas Slany, or to Milford Haven in Pembrooke shire, possessed by the Lord Herbert and his Welsh papists.

The Parliament upon consideration of the great danger that lyes upon this Kingdome, if the designe of the Rebells should take any effect, have ordered for the present that the fifteene saile of great Ships that are ready rigged and fitted for Sea, shall be forthwith fully manned and victualled, and set out to Sea under the Command of the Earle of Warwick, by the first of March next, to hinder the mischeife of the said Rebells or other forraigne forces against this Kingdome.

The last letters from Holland, doe assuredly affirme that the Queene hath againe tooke shiping for England on Thursday last, and that by all probability she is by this time landed in some part of England, at Newcastle it is suspected about Scarborough more, or in the West which is most likely, and the said Letters mentioned that there is a very great quantity of powder, and all sorts of Ammunition come along with her.

But by an other Letter from Holland, the provision her Majesty bringeth with her is more certainely informed, a copie of which letters for the better satisfaction is here inserted comming from very good hands.

SIR.

THe Ships we advised you of in our former Letter lye ready with ammunition for the Queene, and tis not yet certainly knowne whether they are bound; we feare the report of the good successe of the Parliaments forces in the North, may make them goe for the West; and so it is supposed there is great need of ships to be ranging about the Seas to attend this bloody fleet. There is one Peacock that hath in him 1200. Barrels of powder, 4000 Pikes, 1400 Granadoes and much chaine-shot, 3600 Muskets, besides store of Carbines and 4000. Pistols; two other Ships are hirred of about two hundred Tun apeece to carry ammunition, Waggons, Morters, Souldiers, and some thousands of Saddles, all which we desire you to advise the Parliament of; also many Horses are provided: the Prince gave the Queene since her returne from Sea by the storme twenty foure faire horses, and supplies her to his utmost: also sixteene Ships we heare with eight thousand Souldiers are ready to saile from Denmark, from whence most of the moneys for these goods is made over to Master Webster of Amsterdam. The Queene hath provided ammunition for sixteene thousand men: she hath procured an act from the States, that all her baggage and ammunition should be shipt without visiting by any Searcher, yea, that none should come aboord to examine after the goods, of what nature and quality soever they are, all which are past by the States act, without one penny of custome: a coppy of which act we have procured under a publious Nataries hand. We heare also there are sixteene thousand Muskets, with thousands of Pistolls come to Dunkerk out of Lukeland for the Queene: but our hope is that God (who hath so mightily appeared in blasting this designe by water, raising his stormes to the confusion of many of them) will still goe on to perfect his Worke: which is the hearty desire of your friends to serve you.

By Letters Oxford it is enformed, that his Majestie by warrants under his hand hath sent for all the Gunners in the Ships

under

under the Earle of Warwicks command, to leave that service, and to repair to him to Oxford (a very dangerous plot as is conceived to make the Ships useleſſe for the ſervice of the Parliament, And that his Majeſty having notice of Prince Ruperts comming from his plundering progreſſe in Glouceſterſhire to Reading, went from Oxford thither on Tueſday to ſee the paize which he had got, and the five hundred Horſe hee robbed the Countrey of, but his Majeſty returned to Oxford the next day, upon whoſe returne ſuch proviſions were made at Oxford, that the Cavaliers expected to advance with their whole army to Reading, on the Monday following, to joyne with the other forces there and Prince Rupert, what the deſigne is, is not as yet knowne, for matters are kept very ſecret, but London as much talked of, God divert their intentions, for aſſuredly the Cavaliers what ever is pretended have little thoughts of peace.

The two Houſes of Parliament have ſpent much time about the buſineſſe of accommodation betwixt his Majeſty and them, that a firme peace might be ſetled in the Kingdome, the grand buſineſſe being for a treaty, which is agreed unto on all ſides, but whether a Ceſſation of armes only, or an abſolute disbanding of both armies, during the Treaty, which is moſt ſafe, hath been ſtrongly debated by both Houſes, The Commons voted for a disbanding, but the Houſe of Peeres for a ceſſation only: The laſt votes the Lords agreed upon concerning the ſame were to this effect.

1 That from the beginning of the Treaty, the time may not exceed twenty daye.

2 That his Majeſties propoſitions concerning his Magazines, Forts and Ships, and the Propoſitions for the disbanding of all armies may be firſt treated of.

3 That the remote armies may bee disbanded by the laſt of March, and ſooner if it may be.

4 That both armies in theſe parts be disbanded by the tenth of Aprill, and ſooner if it may be.

5 That there may bee a preſent Ceſſation of all acts of

Hoſtility

Hostility on both sides, until the treaty bee ended.

6 That all other things may continue in the same state, without any further entercourse, or free passage then it is at this present.

The House of Commons having seriously weighed the said propositions and largely debated them, being very tender of a breach between the Lords and them, and considering the great inconveniences that might ensue (to the hazard of the Kingdom) if there were a division betweene them, agreed to the said votes of the Lords with these restrictions, and further additions viz.

1. That there shall bee a treaty upon the Propositions before the disbanding with this limitation, That so much of his Majesties propositions as concernes the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the propositions of both Houses for the disbanding of the Armies shall bee first treated of and concluded on, before the proceed upon any other of the propositions.

2 That the Treaty shall begin the fourth of March, or sooner if it may bee; and that from the beginning of the treaty it may not exceed twenty dayes.

3 That for the time of the disbanding they agree with the Lords.

4 That there shall be a cessation of all acts of Hostility in order to the treaty upon the propositions, but that the manner limitations, and qualifications of this Cessation, shall be ordered according to the advice of the Lord Generall, the Earle of Essex.

Which votes being communicated to the Lords, and taken into further consideration by them, on Monday last, both Houses fully agreed upon the same, and are now making ready forthwith to send to his Majesty for the assent of the said votes, that so a treaty, may without further delay goe on as is propounded. God of his mercy send a good issue.

The Houses also taking into consideration the great danger of the City of London, and the whole Kingdome notwithstanding the treaty and cessation of armes if provisions be not made for the maintaining of the forces, whereby strict watches and

Guards

guards may be kept for our better security, have therefore agreed upon an Ordinance of Parliament for the raising of moneys by a Weekely, or Monethly contribution for the maintaining of 20000. men, for six moneths.

And they have also desired of the City the loane of 60000. pounds for the service of the Lord Generalls army, to pay the souldiers withall, which is granted, to be repayed out of the first moneys that shall be raised out of the Malignants estates.

The Parliament having notice that some of the judges at Oxford under pretence of an order from his Majesty, have sent out warrants through their severall circuits, for the appointing of the next assizes at unusuall places, as if some designe were to be put in execution, to the prejudice of the Parliament and Kingdome, have thereupon drawne up a Declaration prohibiting the judges to goe their circuits for this Lent assizes, and requiring the subjects of the Kingdome not to give their attendance at the said places appointed for the said Assize; and that they shall be preserved from all indempnity for so doing, by reason of any verdict or other proceedings against them.

By the last letters from Cheshire it is informed that Sir William Brerton prospers wondrous well in that county raiseth forces apace, and hath neare upon 2000. Horse and foote, hath made divers sallies out of Nantwich, and driveth the Commissioners of Array from place, to place, and scattered their ragged forces with some losse, and hath lately intercepted foure or five thousand po. worth of Plate and moneys which came through that county from the Lancashire papists and intended to be sent to Shrewsbury.

By a letter from Sir Iohn Hotham in Hull to the Parliament, the successive proceeding of the Lord Fairefax in Yorke-shire is fully related, especially discovering a late treacherous plot against the life of his son Captaine Hotham, by a Papist under the command of General King, having drawne out a party of Horse privately out of Yorke intended to set upon a quarter of the Lord Fairefax forces, and having notice wherethey lay, sent a popish

Gentleman

Gentleman to Captaine Hotharns quarter under pretence to deliver a message to him from the said generall but coming to the C. discharged a Pistoll at him, but by great providence missed him, and was immediately taken, and upon examination confessed that he was set upon that designe to kill the Captaine (Governor he called him) thereby to distract the forces, a part of Horse being neare at hand to fall upon them, which Captaine Hotham having full knowledge of, presently drew up his forces against the said party of Horse to the number of neare upon a thousand gave them a very hot incounter, killed and tooke prisoners the greatest part of them, and put the rest to flight.

The Houses also on Tuesday last received a letter from his Majesty upon occasion of His Majesties late propositions in answere to the Propopositions of the Houses for the reconciling of the differences betwixt his Majesty and them by a Treaty and cessation of armes, wherein his Majesty againe coniureth the Houses to a suddaine and speedy agreement that the Kingdome may no longer waite in an expectation of a peace, and yet be dayly more, and more suffer and be ruinated in their estates by the progresse of the armyes, but that the Treaty may goe on as was before propounded and that his Maiesty may receive a suddaine answere.

Which letter the Houses have taken into serious consideration and intend with all conveyniency to give his Maiesty full satisfaction to his desires, & to manifest to the world that nothing shall be wanting on their parts for the procuring of a happy agreement, and setting of a firme peace in the Kingdome.

At these words Receive their answre, ad these words which he hath waited for now above this fortnight admonishing them that if any thing should happen otherwayes then will by their delay they would excuse his Majesty therein.

FINIS.

17

AN ORDINANCE Of the LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

That no Wharfinger, Woodmonger, or other Seller of New-Castle Coales, within the Cities of London and Westminster, or the Suburbes thereof, shall after the making hereof sell any New-Castle Coales, above the rate of 23 s. the Chaldron, and after the first of Aprill next, above 20 s. at the most.

And if any shall wilfully transgresse this Ordinance, they shall be committed to Prison, and there continue, untill they shall conforme themselves thereunto.

And the Lord Maior and Sheriffs of the City of London, and Middlesex, are hereby required to see this put in Execution.

Die Martis, 21 Feb. 1642.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and Published.

John Browne Cler. Parliament.

Feb. 23. Printed for *John Wright* in the Old Bailey. 1642.

AN
ORDINANCE
Of the
LORDS and COMMONS
Assembled in PARLIAMENT, &c.

That no Wharfinger, Wood-
monger, or other Seller or Sellers of Coals
Coke, within the Cities of London and West-
minster, or the Suburbs thereof, shall after the making
hereof, [illegible]

And if any [illegible]
monies, they shall be committed [illegible]

And the Lord Mayor [illegible]
London, and Mayors, or Bailiffs [illegible]

O

AN ORDINANCE Of the LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Die Martis, 21. Februarii, 1642.

FOr as much as information hath been given, that the Woodmongers, Wharfingers, & other Sellers of Newcastle Coale in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Suburbs of the same, taking ad-

hantage of the late Ordinance made by both houses, prohibiting Ships to trade into Newcastle for coales, have raised the prizes thereof unto an unreasonable & excessive Rate, in respect of the rate they have bought the same at, to the great oppression of the poorer and meaner sorts of people Inhabiting the said Citie and Suburbs. Whereupon the house of Commons, by an Order dated the twenty eight of January, referred the consideration thereof, unto the Lord Maior of the City of London, to Informe himselfe what might bee a reasonable price (having equall respect both to the Seller and the buyer, and to present his opinion to the house to be considered of by both Houses, and in the meane time Ordered, that the price should not exceed twenty two shillings the Chaldron. Whereupon the Lord Maior, calling

ting to his Assistance the Alderman of the said City, did certifie that twenty two shillings the Chaldron at the Wharfe was a fayre and fitting rate. But for the encouragement of those that Trade in Coale, to bring in their Ships of lading into the River of Thames and supply the Market there; Certified that twelve pence more upon the Chaldron during this Winter might be allowed.

The Lords and Commons taking the same into their Consideration, doe hereby Ordaine and Order, That no Owner, Shipmaster, Woodmonger, or other Setter of Newcastle Coale, within the Cities of London and Westminster, or the Suburbs or Liberties thereof, or within the Borough of Southwarke, shall at any time after the making of this Order and before the first of April

next ensuing, sell any Newcastle coale above the rate of twenty three shillings the Chaldron at the Wharfe; and from and after the said first of Aprill, above the rate of twentie shillings the Chaldron at the most. And the Lord Maior and Sheriffs of the City of London and Middlesex, the Justices of Peace of the Countie of Surrey, respectively in their severall Jurisdictions, or any two of them, are hereby Authorized and required, to take care for the due Execution of this Ordinance, and in case any shall wilfully Transgresse the same, to commit him or them so Transgressing to Prison, untill he shall Conforme himselfe thereunto, provided that any person that shall find himselfe grieved by reason of such Commitment, may appeale to the Committee of Lords and Commons

mons for advance of Monies, who hereby are Authorized to hear his complaint, and to discharge him of his Imprisonment, if they shall find cause.

And it is hereby further Ordeined and Ordered, That no New-Castle Coale, Pit-Coale or Sea-coal shall be transported out of this Kingdome, into any Ports beyond the Seas, without the speciall Order of both Houses of Parliament, and the Earle of Warwicke, Admirall of the Fleet, and all the Captaines and Officers thereof, and the Officers of the Customs house, and of all the Ports of the Kingdome, are to have speciall care to see the same duely observed.

And it is Ordered that this Ordinance bee forthwith Printed, and the Lord Maior and Sheriffs of the City of London and Middlesex, are

are to take care that the same be published in the Cities of London, Westminster, Southwarke, and the Suburbes and Liberties thereof; and the Collectors of the Customes are forthwith to send it to the severall Ports of this Kingdome.

FINIS.

Mr. HOLLIS HIS SPEECH TO The Lords in Parliament concerning PEACE.

WITH

A motion for some course to be taken for repairing of trade, that so poore tradesmen may be preserved to hold out during these troublesome Times.

Whereunto is added a Relation of a Vision of Blood in the Skie, that appeared about Redding *on Tuesday night last.*

LONDON,
Printed for T. Wright. 1643.

M. HOLLIS
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Mr. Hollis

HIS. Speech to the Lords, upon the delivery of a Meſſage from the Houſe *of Commons.*

My Lords,

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe, to preſent your Lordſhips with a Petition now delivered into their Houſe, by divers poor Tradeſmen in and about the Citie of Loudon, containing in the ſame the great want and neceſſitie they and their families are fallen into, through the decay of treading. The means and cauſes that have produced this decay, and the remedies to prevant further miſerie, and revive trading: My Lords, it is a common obſervation, and the experience of former Ages hath made it manifeſt, that when the ſword of warre is unſheathed, famine

followes, the greateſt deſtruction of all Common-wealths and Kingdomes, witneſſe the miſerable calamities and troubles that have of late years befallen upon *Italy* and Germany. If wee call to minde ancient Hiſtories mentioning the fatal deſtruction of the Eaſterne Empires, wee ſhall finde that the firſt ſtep to their deſolation, hath been domeſtick diſſention, and home-bred mutinies, upon which hath followed *Nationall* warres, and the effects of all hath been famine and peſtilence, which hath given a full period to the utter confuſion of thoſe Kingdoms. If wee pry and ſearch into the ancient Hiſtories of *Italy* and *Rome*, we ſhall find the only deſtruction both of that Kingdom and Citie, hath happened only by theſe occaſions, the pride and ambition of the Popes and Biſhops of that See, uſurping authority to themſelves over the Churches in the Eaſt, produced the wars between the Eaſt Vandals and the Romans, beeween the Eaſt and Weſt Gothes, and the *Italians*, which was the utter deſolation of the City of Rome.

Firſt, by *Allarick* Captain of the Weſt Gothes. Secondly by *Adolph* their Captain. Thirdly, by *Athila* King of the Hunns. Fourthly, by *Genſerick* King of the Vandalls. Fifthly *Odaſar* a German. Sixthly *Theodericke* an Eaſt Goth. And laſtly, *Totela Baldivel*.

Theſe *Princes* by the ſword and fire, executed the iuſt iudgements of God upon proud and wicked *Rome*, the originall whereof was occaſioned by the impiirity and uncleanes of the Clergy: and what terrible Famines and grievous peſtilencies followed

warres, is likewiſe too manifeſt by Hiſtory, whereas in the beginning whome *Rome* firſt began to lift up her head againſt Gods true Religion and his anointed Servants, Kings and Emperours, ſhe had been daſhed and ſuppreſſed, all thoſe bloudy and long warres procured by the Biſhops thereof in all parts of the Chriſtian world had bin prevented and avoyded.

My Lords, I have ſpoken this onely to remember your Lordſhips of the miſeries and calamities that have hapned unto thoſe Nations that have entertained amongſt themſelves diſſenſion about the diverſity of worſhip of God in Religion, which alwaies hath proved the root and principall means of future deſtruction, that now in time while opportunity doth ſerve ſuch occaſions of difference as do threaten the the ſame deſolations to the ſtate wherein we live, and whereof we be a part, may by the wiſdome of this high Court of *Parliment* be prevented and avoyded.

My Lords, if Dearth and Famine be in a Nation, there can be nothing expected but confuſion as well of the rich, as of the poore, It is the Common Proverb, neceſſity hath no law. There is uo delaying of preſent neceſſity. It is not to be thought that Millions of men, women and childrdn will ſtarve and periſh, ſo long as there is Corn in the Land of *Goſhen*, or in the cuſtody of *Ioſeph*, It is therefore the deſire, my Lords, of the Commons, that as they have compaſſionately conſidered among themſelves this neceſſitated Petition of diſtreſſed Tradeſ-men, and have limited a day certaine for anſwering the ſame, ſo your Lordſhips would be pleaſed to take the ſame Petition into your

your conſideration with them, that the petitioners may at the time appointed, receive from both Houſes of Parliament, ſuch anſwer from their demands, as may give them full ſatisfaction.

My Lords, under favour, I am to ſpeake a word or two of the means that have occaſioned the decay in trading, and the remedies to prevent the ſame for future time, and againe renew Trading, the meanes they conceive is principally want of due execution of Juſtice upon thoſe perſons that have bin the cauſers, and Authors thereof, and then the remedies, due execution of Juſtice, without any further protraction of time and the Enacting of ſuch wholſome and good lawes, for the reſtriction of vice, and maintaining of vertue, both in goverment of the Church and State, as ſhall be congruent to the word of God, and the peace and proſperity of his Sacred Majeſty, and all his Kingdoms, as ſhall be thought meet by the wiſdome and policie of this great & high Court of *Parliament*, which I further humbly leave to the grave conſideration of this Honourable Houſe.

A Relation of a Viſion of Blood in the Skie, which appeared at Redding on Tueſday night laſt.

UPon Tueſday night laſt there appeared a skie red as bloud about Redding, halfe a mile long, or more, which was ſeen ſo cleare and viſible about ſix of the clock at night, that not onely many people thereabouts did run to ſee it, but it being apparent ſo farre that it might be ſeen to London, there were thouſands that went to London-Bridge, and many other places, where they could attaine the proſpect, to ſee it; inſomuch that there was a great crowd upon the Bridge, ſome went into the fields, others to the tops of houſes to behold this wonderfull viſion, which was in this manner, viz. In length half a mile or more, as it was judged, ſharp at the North end

end, and broad at the South end: for the length of it was North and South, red as bloud, and very clear, almoſt in colour like the Moon when ſhe is in an Eclipſe; which though it ſeemed cleere, yet cauſed rather a darkneſſe then a light; the length continued much alike, but it grew ſomtimes broader, and ſometimes again it was narrower; there was neither Sun, Moone, nor any Star viſible in the skie, which was very black and dark, onely this bloudy viſion which appeared in this manner. What can we otherwiſe judge of, then to be a token of Gods diſpleaſure againſt the cruell Cavaliers thereabouts, who kill, murder, and ſlaw the people of God, whoſe bloud cries to heaven in the ears of God for vengeance againſt them.

FINIS.

OBEDIENCE ACTIVE and PASSIVE

Due To The

SVPREAM POVVER,

By the word of God, Reaſon, and the Conſent of divers moderne and Orthodox Divines,

Written not out of *Faction*, but *Conſcience*; and with deſire to informe the Ignorant, and undeceive the Seduced:

By *W. J.* a Welwiller to *Peace* and *Truth*.

19 K..

TIT. 3. 1. *Put them in mind, to bee ſubject to principalities and powers, and that they bee obedient, &c.*

ROM. 13. 1. *Let every Soule bee ſubject to the Higher powers.*

Principi, ſummum rerum judicium dii dederunt: Subditis obſequii Gloria relicta eſt, Tacitus lib. 6. Hiſtor.

Scutum potius quàm gladium, ſubditis in Tyrannos eſſe ſumendum, quos modeſtia & patientia ſubditorum mitigat, contumacia verò exaſperat, Titus Livius, lib. 3.

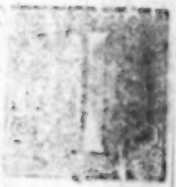
fol. 24 1642

OXFORD,
Printed by *Leonard Litchfeild*, Printer to the Vniverſity, *Anno* 1643.

To the Reader.

IT is a time, wherein many are become rather wilfully then really ignorant, and more conceitedly then truly desirous of Peace with Truth, to rectifie (if not satisfie) whom, this little treatise is communicated unto publike view: wherein they shall find, (toward accomplishing their desire:) Truth from Heaven, tending toward peace on Earth; Truth being the matter therof, Peace the end whereto it conduceth: And I supposed, there could bee no better meane, (under God) toward the compassing and procuring, that Peace, then by rightly informing each Subject of his duty, from the word of God, which is Truth: and therefore I dare bebold to say, that if the Truth herein sincerely and cleerely delivered, be but lovingly embraced, and henceforth constantly practised by us all; wee shall prove, both better servants to God our Father, and more loyall subjects to the King our Soveraigne: and so, not onely againe acquire, that great blessing of internall, externall, and eternall Peace to our selves, with confluence of all concommitant felicity; but withall suddenly procure, from God and the King, that happy and all desired Vnion, of his most sacred Majesty, with his Parliament, and People: whereby all our lawfull desires may bee fully effected, which is the constant, fervent, and dayly prayer of the Authour.

Farewell.



The SVBIECTS duty to there lawfull KING.

Consisting in { ACTIVE / PASSIVE } and { Obedience. }

THat the King is the Head of the people; it evident by 1 *Sam.* 15. 17. where the Prophet *Samuel* saith thus unto King *Saul* from the Lord: *When thou was little in thine owne sight, wast thou not made the Head of the Tribes of Israel? and the Lord annointed thee to be King over Israel?* And by the 1 *Kings* 14. 7. where *Ahijah* the Prophet, bids King *Jeroboams* wife, *Goe tell Jeroboam, Thus saith the Lord God of Israel; I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee Prince over my people Israel.* And 1 *Kings* 16. 2. where *Jehu* the Prophet saith to King *Baasha* from the Lord: *I exalted thee from the dust, and made thee Prince over my people Israel:* Which occasioned *Optatus* to say, *Super Imperatorem non est, nisi qui fecit Imperatorem*; from which our Law too dissents not; for in the yeare booke of 1. *Henr.* 7. 10. and *Finch fol.* 81. it is said, *That the King is the head of the Common-wealth immediate under God*; and therewith agreeth the more ancient Law, which tels us, *Quod omnes sub eo, ipse autem sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Bracton. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. And therefore is it, that S. *Peter* 1 *Epist.* 2. 13. *Exhorts all men to submit themselves unto the King, as to the Supreame:* who is placed in that degree of eminency over the people; Not by himselfe, (for Kings themselves acknowledge in their styles, that they are such, *Dei gratia*, and therefore may not unfitly say with the Psalmist, *Psal.* 100. 3. *He it is that made us and not wee our selves:*) Neither by the people, (for the Iewes confesse, *Nrbem.* 9. 37. *That Kings are set over them by God*; and therefore, we often read in Scripture, That the King is called Gods *Annoynted*, and the *Lords Annoynted*, but never *the peoples Annoynted.*) And then, if neither by himselfe, nor by the people, then surely by God alone; and truly God so asserteth, *Prov.* 8, 15. They raigne not by themselves, they raigne not by the people, But saith he, *By me Kings raigne*, that is, by

by my ordination and appointment, being first setled, since upheld, and sometimes miraculously preserved in their raignes by mee, and by my will as the cause: For as the Prophets *Ieremiah* and *Daniel*, tell us, *The most high beareth rule over the Kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever hee will.* *Ier.* 27. 5. 6. and *Dan.* 4. 17. He having the sole property of them; and therefore *Daniel* speaking to *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Dan.* 2. 37. saith, *The God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdome, &c.* And so *Cyrus* acknowledgeth *Ezra.* 1. 2. saying, *The Lord God of Heaven hath given mee all the Kingdomes of the Earth.*

Wee read *Deut.* 17. 14. 15. That if the people would have a King, like other Nations, Then *they should in any wise set him King over them, whom the Lord their God should choose.* And 1 *Sam.* 9. 17. we read that God chose *Saul* to raigne over his people; and 1 *Sam.* 10. 1. and 1 *Sam.* 15. 1. *The Lord sent Samuel to annoynt Saul to be King over his people Israel.* And in the 1 *Sam.* 16. 1. God saith to *Samuel*, *I will send thee to Jesse the Bethleemite; for I have provided mee a King among his Sonnes*, to wit, *David*, and at the 13. Verse *Samuel* annoynted him. And 2 *Sam.* 12. 7. God saith to *David*, *I annoynted thee King over Israel.* And *David* himselfe after he was King, 1 *Chron.* 28. 4. did acknowledge, that hee did not set up himselfe to be King, neither was chose by the people, but saith hee, *The Lord chose me that I should be King over Israel.* And hereto agreeable, was the Divinity of the Primitive Church, concerning Kings, (which had iust cause to favour them, in regard they were its persecuters; and yet) *Irenæus* saith of them, *Cujus jussu nascuntur homines, ejus jussu constituuntur Principes:* Thus wee see that Kings are provided for the people and appointed by God; annoynted by his Prophets, and lastly, onely approved of by the people; and truly such peoples as are his, doubtlesse will approve both his choyce and institution, as wee read the Iewes did 1. *Sam.* 10 24. who when they saw *Saul*, whom God had appointed, chose and annoynted for their King, they all showted, and said, *God save the King.*

Now as the institution and office, so also the power of a King is derived from God; for as was before said, by *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan.* 2. 37. *The God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdome*; so likewise doth hee adde thereto, *power, strength and glory*, whereby it appeareth Kings have power from God, which our Saviour likewise acknowledgeth *John* 19. 11. where speaking to *Pilate*, he saith,

Thou

Thou couldst have no power, except it were given thee from above, and therefore ſaith *Tertullian*, *Inde illi poteſtas eſt, unde Spiritus*, and that wee know is from God, not from the people: whereby it appeares, that what Saint *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 13. 1. is very true, *That there is no power but of God, and the powers that bee, are ordained of God.* And therefore in that very place hee willeth and enjoyneth, *That every Soule be ſubject to the higher powers.* And writing unto *Titus*, hee willeth him, *Tit.* 3. 1. *To put the people in mind, that they be ſubject to principalities and powers, and that they be obedient*: in which places by ſubjection, hee includes a neceſſity of not reſiſting: For ſuch who ſhall either diſ-reſpect the perſon, or diſobey the juſt power of the King, reſiſt the *Ordinance of God*, and ſhall receive to themſelves condemnation, as our Old, but damnation, as our New tranſlation renders, *Rom.* 13. 2.

Philo the Iew, in his booke *de vita Moyſis*, thus ſpeakes of the office of Kings; *Regis officium eſt, jubere quæ oportet fieri, & vetare à quibus abſtinere decet: cæterum, juſſio faciendarum & interdictio cavendarum, propriè ad legem pertinet, atque ita conſequitur, quod Rex animata lex ſit, lex vero, ſit Rex inſtituſſimus.* And our moſt gratious Soveraigne, not onely performes that good office, but withall admits of that rule, and for his peoples ſatisfaction, hath further proteſted before almighty God, not to governe them by any Arbitrary power of his owne, but to admit and propoſe the knowne lawes of this Realme, for his guide and the exact rule of his government: unto which I ſuppoſe every good Chriſtian will adhibite faith, and unto whom I hope, every loyall ſubject will yeild due obedience; and therefore how great a cauſe have wee to praiſe God, whoſe graciouſneſſe is pleaſed to ſet ſuch over us, as do ſet him in all their wayes before them? and how great cauſe have wee in all reſpects to honour him, who ruling us in goodneſſe, doth alſo rule himſelfe by goodneſſe? Long may hee live among us; ever may he raigne by himſelfe, and royall poſterity over us, in glory and renoune.

Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreame, &c. ſaith Saint *Peter* 1 *Epiſt.* 2. 13. Not that Kings are ordained by men, or that men invented that government, (*for the powers that bee are ordained of God, Rom.* 13. 1. and that Kings are ſo plainely manifeſted before, as alſo by 1 *Sam.* 15. 11. where God complaineth ſaying, *It repenteth mee*, (not that the people, but) *that I have ſet up Saul to be King.*) But, he

he cals Kingly Government an ordinance of man; (as *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Marlorate*, *Aretius*, *Piscator*, *Bucanus*, *Gerardus* and *Wemse*, have observed upon that text) because the power, that is confer'd by God upon men, is proper to men, exercised by men, and towards men; it is called an humane ordinance, *subjective*, because men are the subject of it, and *objective*, because it handles humane affaires; and lastly, in respect of the end, being instituted for the good of man, and the conservation of humane society: So it appeareth by what hath been said, That Kings and Supreame Magistrates, are not politique institutions of men, not at first ordained by men, nor the power they are invested with, committed to them, from men, but from God: And therefore, let every soule bee subject to them; and as *omnis anima*, so *ex omni animo*, which shewes the manner; not with the body only, but the mind also; not in shew alone, but indeed and in truth withall; and that to all just commands; yea, and to their unjust demands, if not contradictory to the will or word of God, by our Saviours example, *Matth.* 17. 27. who payed Tribute to the Polegatherers, for quietnesse sake, rather then offend or resist, although nothing was due; but if their commands and demands bee contrary to Gods, then *Deo potius, quam hominibus*, better obey God then man, by the example of Saint *Peter* and Saint *John*, *Acts* 4. 19. Yet so bee, they bee not dissonant or discrepant from Gods, then Scripture wils us to yeild obedience thereto, not onely as Saint *Peter* exhorts, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. *for the Lords sake*, that so bee may bee honoured, who hath ordained Kings and powers, and would that we should bee obedient to them; (as *Aretius*, *Piscator*, and *Lucas Osiander*, observe in their Comments upon that text:) but withall as Saint *Paul* enjoynes us, for *conscience sake* also, *Rom.* 13. 5. That so wee may retaine a good conscience, which wee must keepe *void of offence*, both towards *God* and towards *Men*, *Acts* 24. 16. That it may witnesse for us, that wee have not resisted Authority; for no man with a good conscience, can resist him, to whose power God hath made him subject; (as the same *Piscator* and *Osiander*, together with *Calvin* and *Bucanus* have noted upon that text of Saint *Paul Rom.* 3. 5.) And therefore, because wee must bee subject both for the *Lords sake*, and for *Conscience sake* too, it will not bee amisse to consider what a subjects duty to his Soveraigne is, and in what particulars it consists.

And first, wee must honour him; *Give honour to whom honour is due*, saith Saint *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 7. *and honour the King* saith Saint *Peter*,

Peter, 1 *Pet.* 2. 17. and that must be by a reverend esteeme of him, and an acknowledgement of him for our Superiour; by giving him due respect in our behaviour, and Titles of reverence in our words, as *David*, did to *Saul*. 1 *Sam.* 24. 8. he stooped with his face toward the earth, and bowed himselfe, and said, *My Lord the King*, And as *Araunah* did to *David*, 2 Sam. 24. 20, 21. and *Nathan* to *David*, 1 Kings 1. 23. and *Bathsheba* to *David* at the 31. verse of that Chapter. Who *bowed her face to the earth, and did reverence to the King*, and said, *Let my Lord King David live for ever.*

Secondly, We must pray and give thanks to God for him: as S. *Paul* exhorts 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. 2. *I exhort therefore that first of all, Prayers, Supplications and Thanksgiving be made for all men, for Kings, &c.* and that as the *Psalmist* Psal. 80. 17. *Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand; upon the sonne of man, whom thou madest strong for thy selfe*; that is, O Lord, let thy hand of Providence, Power and Mercy be upon the man of thy right hand, and thine annointed the King, ever readily and mightily to defend, preserve and protect him; and upon him whom though thou reckonest among the Gods of the Earth, *Psal.* 82. 1 and 6. yet indeed, is but the son of man, whom thou hast made strong by Majestie and power, for thy selfe, to governe thy people as thy *Vicegerent*; or as our owne *Liturgie* teacheth us, That God would be pleased to be his defender and keeper and give him the victory over all his enemies, that God would so dispose governe and rule the heart, of our Gracious King and Governour, that he might evermore have affiance in him, and in all his thoughts, words and works, ever seeke Gods honour and glory, and study, to preserve the people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace and godlinesse, and finally that after this life, he may attaine everlasting joy and felicity.

Thirdly, We must feare him, as S. *Paul* wills us, Rom. 13. 7. *Give Feare to whom feare is due*; and as *Salomon* Councells us. *Pro.* 24. 21. saying, *My Sonne, feare thou the Lord, and the King*; and that with a feare of love, least any hurt come to him; and a feare of awe, least we offend and disobey him. *Salomon* joynes them together, because he that is a true servant of God, and feareth him, will be a true subject to the King and feare him also; For, it is but one and the same *Religious feare*, which first honoureth, God and then the King. And as *Timor Dei* makes a good Christian, so *Timor Regis* a good Subject; and the better Christian, the better Subject. And to speake Truth, it

is God, that causeth this Feare in Subjects towards their King, 1 Sam. 22.8. *Anselme* speaketh very rightly, *Nunquam potest fieri, nisi operante Dei, ut res homini, vel servirent, quem cognoscant non minus esse sua ipsis fragilitate & natura: Sed quia Deus inspirat Subditis timorem, & obedientiæ voluntatem, contingit ita.*

Fourthly, we must not murmur against him; For *Exod.* 16.8. and *Num.* 16.11. They that murmur against their Governours are said to murmur against the Lord, because they murmur against his ordinance and against his Ministers; for *they judge not for men but for the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* 19.6. and *Prov.* 8.15. *by me Princes decree Justice*, saith God, and therefore what Christ saith in another case, *Luk.* 10.16. may not unfitly be applied to them. *He that despiseth you, despiseth me*; for as the Apostles were the Messengers of Christ, so *Kings are the Lieutenants of God.*

Fiftly, We must not touch him with a virulent Tongue, like *Shimei* in *Iudah*, 1 *Kin.* 2.8. who said, *I am he that smote him with the Tongue*; that is, We must not speake evill of him; no, though we receive wrong from him, by S. *Paul's* example *Acts* 23.5. towards *Ananias*, for so soone as he knew him to be the high Priest, he corrects himselfe with a *Scripturall* rule of *Exod.* 22.28. *Thou shalt not speake evill of the Ruler of thy people.*

Sixtly, We must not accuse him: for *where the word of a King is, there is power*; *and who may say to him, what dost thou*, saith *Salomon*, *Eccles.* 8.4. and *Elihu* in *Iob*, *Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked? Or to Princes, you are ungodly?* Iob. 34.18. And therefore we should be so farre from judging amisse of his actions, That we should rather excuse what is done amisse by him, then accuse him for it; and withall to suppose him so free in himselfe, from doing any Act of Injustice, that we should be ready to answer him, as did both that wise woman of *Tekoah*, 2 *Sam.* 14.17. and also *Mephibosheth*, 2 *Sam.* 19.27. *My Lord the King, is as an Angell of God, to discerne both good and bad, do therefore what is good in thine eyes.* Wherefore though his actions may seeme blame-worthy, yet we must not suppose them such, and much lesse accuse him for them; and so *Plutarch*, though at other times he doubted thus, That *Iudices nec audire debent quæ fiunt, Reges quæ fiunt & dicuntur.*

Seventhly, We must not curse him: for God hath prohibited it *Exod.* 22.28. *Thou shalt not curse the Ruler of my people*, and *Salomon* gives us this lesson by way of [illegible] *Curse not the King, no, not in thy thought*; for a bird of the ayre shall carry the voyce, and that which

which hath wings shall tell the matter; to teach us, That though Kings and Governors have infirmities and vices, (which being men, they are equally subject too with others,) and so perchance may often do evill; yet we ought not to revile them, or curse them therefore. Yea, though thou mayst know the King to doe evill, and the land to suffer evill by his doing; yea, though thou mayst know it by thine owne suffering of evil from him, yet; let not so much as thine heart thought curse him; as Doctor *Iermyne* in his Comments on that booke of *Ecclesiastes*, hath observed upon that text, from S. *Cyprian*.

Eighthly, We must not touch him violently, nor lift up our hands against him. God hath inhibited it 1 *Chro* 16.22. and *Psal*. 105.15. Saying, *Touch not mine annoynted*, to wit, so as to doe him harme, or kill him; for as *David* saith to *Abishai*, 1 *Sam* 26.9. who can *stretch forth his hands against the Lords annoynted, and be guiltlesse?* and therefore forbeare to destroy him. And we know how *Davids* heart smote him, when as he onely did but cut off the skirt from King *Sauls* garment, 1 *Sam*. 24.5. though he kild him not. For on whom Gods hand hath beene to annoynt them, he cannot endure any others hand should be, to violate them: For there is such neere alliance as it were, betweene God and them, Christ and them, and the *Holy Ghost* and them, as that they are not to be harmed the least way, if either God, or Christ, or the *Holy Ghost*, can keepe us from it; For Kings participat with the name of God: *Psal*. 82.6. *I have said ye are Gods*; and with the name of Christ, for they are called *Christs Deputs*, *The Lords Annoynted*, frequently in Scripture; and if they be annoynted with it, with the *Holy Ghost* and power from above, *Athe* [illegible] learned and reverend Bishop *Andrewes* in his Second Sermon of the conspiracy of the *Gowries*. So in that they be annoynted with oyle, may tooke from the Marchants warehouse, or the Apothecaryes shop, but from the Sanctuary; it shewes us, That *Sacred* is the office, wherunto they are designed; *Sacred the power*, wherewithall they are endued; *Sacred* the persons, whereto it is applied, & therefore not to be touched, either virulently with the Tongue, or violently with the hand.

Ninthly, We should not desert him in his troubles and necessity, but adhere to him, and endure the extremity of Fortune with him and even then answer him, as *Davids* Servants said to him, when *David* was to flee with them from *Absolon*, 2 *Sam*. 15.15. *Behold thy servants are ready to doe whatsoever my Lord the King shall appoint*: and likewise with *Ittai* the Gittite, by no doe as he did to the good King

David, in verse the 21. *As the Lord liveth, and as my Lord the King liveth, Surely in what place my Lord the King shall be, whether in life or death, even there also will thy Servant be.*

Tenthly, In time of warre, if the goe forth to battaile, and there expose himselfe to danger, for the animation and incouragement of the Hoast, then, because *he is worth ten thousand of us*, (as the people said of King *David*, 2 *Sam.* 18. 3. We must therefore be sure that we be ready to rescue him, and to venture our life for his deliverance, as we read *Abishai*, one of *Davids* Generalls & valiant men did to succour *David* from the hands of *Ishbi-benob* the Philistim Gyant, 2 *Sam.* 21. 17. And then withall out of a feare of love, lest he be againe endangered; we should with the Men of *David* (at the same verse) say to him, *Thou shalt go no more out with us to battaile, that thou quench not the light of Israel*; that is, lest if thou perish in the battaile, we loose thee, who art not onely, the Joy and the glory, but also the *Light of Israel*: where by the way, we may observe, the great estimation a people should have of their King, viz. to esteeme him as their *Light*; and withall, that when the *Light of Israel is quenched*, that is, when we loose a good King, who is the *Joy* and the *Glory* of his people, we are then rightly said to be in darkenesse, and so exposed to danger, as wanting a *Light* to guide us.

Eleventhly, We must not withhold his due from him: for our Saviour wills us *Mat.* 22. 21. to *Give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*: and S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 7. to *render to all their dues*: *tribute to whom tribute*, &c. Now because Kings are the Ministers of God for our good *Rom.* 13. 6. for the good of Peace, Protection, Justice, Religion &c. attending continually upon this very thing, therefore *for this cause we pay tribute*, *Rom.* 13. 6. And truly in regard of their Care over us, we must not dare, but as our Saviour saith, *Reddere Cæsari quæ sua sunt*; That is, because they keep our Tillage safe, they must have Tribute out of our Lands; and because they keep the Sea safe, they must have *vectigal*, *Custome*, and *Cessum*, Subsidy out of our goods: and therefore it is very remarkable, That our Saviour never did any Miracle about Honor or Money, except that one, which we read of *Mat.* 17. 27. about giving Tribute to *Cæsar*; where, although nothing was due as may appeare by the two former verses, yet saith Christ to *Peter*, *Lest we should offend, go thou to the Sea, and cast an hooke, and take up the fish that first commeth up: and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt finde a piece of money, that take, and give unto them for thee and me.*

Lastly,

Lastly, We must be subject to them and obey them: for as *Dion Cassius* hath well observed, *Naturâ quipiam necessarium & hominibus salutare, ut alij quidem imperent, alij vero pareant.* And therefore S. *Paul* wills *Titus*, *Tit.* 3. 1. to put the people in minde, that *they be subject to principalities and powers, and that they be obedient.* And againe, because Christians should not suppose they were exempted from obedience to the Heathen Governors, therefore the same Apostle, writing to the Roman Christians, who though they lived under cruell *Nero*, that Persecutor of the Church, and Infamy of his Age, and under his wicked substitutes, yet saith he, *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every soule be subject to the higher powers, and why?* because the powers that be, *are ordained of God, and he that resists the power, resists the ordinance of God.* and therefore be obedient.

Now our subjection and obedience to the Kings and Governours who are set over us, and who are the Powers that are of God, is to permit their will to be done, *aut a nobis, aut de nobis*, that is, either of us, or on us; of us, when they command for Truth; on us, not by us, when they command against the Truth, to wit, Gods Truth & Word; as we see by the example of the Hebrew Midwives, whom the King of *Egypt* commanded, that when a Son was born to the Hebrew women they should kill him, *Exod.* 1. 16. But *the Midwives feared God, and did not as the King of Ægypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive*, verse 17. for had they, they had been guilty of murder, and therefore because the Midwives feared God, *He dealt well with them, and made them houses*, verse 20. 21. Also by the example of *Shadrach, Meshach*, and *Abednego*. *Dan.* 3. 18. Who would not *worship the golden Image set up by Nebuchadnezzar*, yet permitted his will to be done on them, by casting them into the fiery furnace: verse 20. 21. and therefore God preserved them, so that they had no harme, as we read in the same Chapter. And so *Daniel*, who though he was interdicted by King *Darius*, *Dan.* 6. 9. Yet ceased not to pray unto God, *three times a day*, verse 13. yet he permitted the Kings will to be done on him, (for he signed the decree) by casting him *into the Den of Lyons*, verse 16. So it appeareth, that we must be patients or Agents; Agents, when he is good and godly; patients, when he is tyrannous and wicked; and then as S. *Peter* saith 1. *Pet.* 2. 19. *It is thankworthy, if a man for Conscience towards God, endure griefe, suffering wrongfully*: and unto a patient bearing of the Crosse, we know we are called, for *Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow*

follow his steps, as S. *Peter* there tells us verse 21. Wherefore we must needs be obedient: because *all powers is of God*; because they bring with them the good of order; because it is a sinne to disobey; because judgement temporall and eternall, accompany the sinne of Rebellion and disobedience; because government is the meane of our weale; because Kings are (as it were) hired by tribute, to serve their Servants, and take care for their subjects. Besides, it is necessary that we should obey, both *ex necessitate finis & præcepti*; for hereby we shall doe that, which is acceptable to God, and profitable to our selves; acceptable to God, enjoyning obedience; profitable to our selves, as thereby enjoyning the good of government. *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlynes & honesty*, as S *Paul* saith, 1 *Tim* 2.2 (see Doctor *Boys* on the Epistle for the fourth Sunday after *Epiphany*.)

And thus we see, That we are taught to obey Kings, by the Word, though they rule not alwayes by the Word: but what of that? As the neglect of their duty cannot excuse the neglect of ours; so neither can the breach of their Oath, absolve us before God, from our duties of Allegeance and Obedience to them, as *Calvin*, *Aretius*, and *Marlorate*, informe us. For we are bound to obey, as the person, so chiefly the power, because it is of God.

Nor must we only preforme this duty to good Kings and Governours, but as S. *Peter* saith to servants, concerning their Masters, 1 *Pet* 2.18. *Be subject to your Masters, with all feare, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward*: so may we lawfully say to subjects, concerning their Soveraignes, Be ye subject and obedient, not only to Good Kings, but also to the froward and wicked, as *Hugo Grotius*, aptly applying that text. So also devine *Seneca*, bought in these termes, with us, saying, *Æquum atque Iniquum Regi subjectum servari*; for we must consider & acknowledge with S. *Chrisostome* That, *Reges quod sunt, a Deo sunt*; and therefore, that every King, is either Gods golden Scepter, and so the Mirrour of his goodnesse, when we enjoy peace and plenty and prosperity from God, under him, and by him; Or else he is Gods Iron Rod and Scourge, and so the Mirrour of his Justice, as he saith of the King of *Assyria*, *Esay* 10.5, by whom, God doth afflict and chastise his people, many times permitting him to inforce tax and hard lawes upon them, yea and tyranny, the sword it selfe too, when their sins arrive at that height, as to provoke God's judgments, and call for just and deserved vengeance; For God finds

wicked

wicked Princes, for the punishment of sinners; so *Dan.* 8. 23. When *the Transgressors are come to the full, a King of a fierce Countenance shall stand up*: and he permits Hypocrites to reigne. *Job* 34. 30. which both the vulgar, and *Ofiander* read, *Qui facit regnare hypocritam hominem, propter peccata populi.* So that we see, if Kings be good, then as S. *Paul* saith *Rom.* 13. 4. *They are the Ministers of God for our good*: but if evill, we must with the Iewes. *Nehem.* 9. 37. acknowledge, that they *are set over us for our sinnes*, and yet both good and evill, by and from God.

And truely, however some men dare adventure to call their lawfull, though evill Kings, Tyants, that so they might thereby shake off their disobedience to them, yet both Gods Word, and his owne peoples example, teach us otherwise, viz. to acknowledge, that even such Kings, though Heathens, are *his Anointed*, as he saith of *Cyrus*, *Esay* 45. 1. (and so we read 2. *Kings* 8. 13. That *the Lord sent Elijah the Prophet to anoint Hazael to be King over Syria*.) Yea though wicked persons, yet are they his Servants, as he saith of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Jer.* 25. 9. and 27. 6. and therefore to be obeyed; for saith God at the 8 verse of that last Chapter. That, that *Nation that will not put their necks under the yoke of (Nebuchadnezzar) the King of Babylon, I will punish saith the Lord, with the Sword, and with the Famine, and with the Pestilence*, thereby teaching us, not to resist or rebell against evill Kings, because they are by him advanced to that Royall Majestie, and made his scourges, to punish us for our sinnes. And as Gods word, so his owne peoples example, teacheth us obedience, to wicked Kings. For the *Israelites*, while they were in *Egypt*, were (we know) as well the Subjects of *Pharaoh*, as the *Egyptians*, and yet notwithstanding the many cruelties and oppressions inflicted on them, by *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, and the *Egyptians*, who as we reade. *Exod.* 1. 14. *made the Israelites lives bitter with hard bondage, in Morter and in Brick, and in all manner of service in the fields: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.* Yet for all this, we doe not read, that ever they resisted or opposed him, but patiently endured those afflictions, untill God saw their miseries, and how they sighed by reason of *the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto him*. *Ex.* 2. 23. and 3. 7. and then he sent his Servant *Moses*, to deliver them, as we read *Exod.* 3. 10. and who, when he was not, had not, (that we read of) any power or commission to him, to incite the people to take up armes against *Pharaoh* their King, thereby to free themselves

from

from their bondage; but was only to intreat *Pharaoh* to let them goe, *Exod.* 3. 18. and to shew him Gods wonders, his plagues and judgements if so be he refused. And after, when as God was pleased fully to avenge himselfe, on *Pharaoh*, for so oppressing his people; He chose, rather miraculously to defeate and overthrow *Pharaoh* and his Host in the Red-Sea, *Exod.* 14. 27. 28. and so, wholly to deliver his people, both from their afflictions, and the hands of their enemies. Then he would permit them any liberty, to assume armes, whereby to avenge themselves, for their injuries, on their lawfull, (though tyranous and cruell) King. And againe, we have their example, when they were lead Captives into *Babylon*, *Nehem.* cap. 9. Where after confession, of Gods great goodnesse and mercy towards them of old, and of their own wickednesse and the justnesse of Gods punishments, speaking of the Babilonish Kings to whom they were subjected, they likewise confesse and acknowledge, that they were set over them by God for their *Sinnes*; *and that they had Dominion over their bodies*, at verse the 37. And therefore the Prophet *Jeremiah*, chapter 29. exhorts them from God (not to rebell, against those Kings, to whom God rendered them subject, that so they might regaine their liberty, but) at the 7. verse, *to pray for the peace of Babylon to the Lord, for in the peace thereof, they should have peace*, and at the 10. verse, to waite Gods leisure for their deliverance, from that Captivily, and bondage, for saith he, *Thus saith the Lord, After seventy yeares be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and performe my good words towards you, in causing you to returne.* And after, when God did fulfill his word to them, and delivered them, we know, that it was not, by stirring up their Spirits to Sedition, Resistance, or Rebellion, but as *Ezra* the Scribe, hath recorded it, *Ezra*, 1. 1. 3. *by stirring up the Spirit of King Cyrus, freely to dismisse them and manumit them by his regall proclamation*; by both which examples, of the people of God recorded in the Word of God, we are plainely taught *Passive obedience*, to the *Supreame Power* under afflictions; and to leave the redresse and revenge to God alone, to whom it properly appertaineth.

And tauely, by the harmonious consent, of many notorious and approved good Authors of the Protestant profession of Religion, that I have consulted, (to wit *Calvin*, *Zanchy*, *Polanus*, *Piscator*, *Martinius*, *Wolfgius*, *Aretius*, *Bucer*, *Bullinger*, *Pomeranus*, *Marloratus*, *Rutenus*, *Szegedine*, *Wendelinus*, *Sharpius*, *Crocius*, *Alstedius*, *Althusius*, *Hugo Grotius*, and the famous Authors of the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ*,

logie, viz. *Polyander*, *Rivet*, *Wallens*, and *Thysius*, most of them publicke professors of Divinity; and our owne learned Bishop *Andrewes*, and Doctor *Boyt*, Master *Perkins*, and Master *Downeham*, all Orthodox men and good writers; besides, *Osiander*, *Vogelius*, *Piscatorius*, *Gerardus Brochmandus*, *Gravius*, *Casmannus*, and *Schoderus*, (*Lutherans*) and the two famous Frenchmen, (*Peter Charon*, and *Peter de la Primanday*,) who grounding their judgements upon Scripture, doe all conclude, That we ought to obey *Princes*, though wicked men, in all things, that contradict not the revealed will of Word of God: but if so be, they command things unlawfull and which are against that Rule of Gods will and Word, then as we must not obey them, by doing; so neither resist them, by rebelling; but either, patiently suffer their wills to be done on us, though not by us; or otherwise, fly from them, as *David* did from *Saul*. 1 *Sam.* 19.12 18. and as our Saviour Christ did from *Herod*, *Mat.* 2.13. and as he adviseth his Desciples to doe, *Mat.* 10.23. *When they persecute you in one City, fly into another.*

And thus we see, That though Kings be not godly, but wicked persons, yet honour and obedience is to be done unto them, because it is God that hath set them up over us, though in his *wrath* against us, as he saith, *Hosea* 13. 11. and therefore, though their sinnes may make us disaffect their persons, yet must we yeeld obedience, to the power they are invested with, because it is of God. For as the learned *Hugo Grotius*, well observes (*li.* 1. *de jure belli & pacis, ca.* 2. *Sect.* 7.) *Sicut olim, pia erant Sacrificia secundum legem, quamvis ab impijs Sacerdotibus celebrata: Sic pia res est Imperium, quamvis ab Impio teneatur.* And so *Althusius* from *Aretius*, *vitia Personæ, non tollunt Officium illius.* For we ought not to obey a *Superiour*, because he is worthy, and worthily commandeth, but because he is a Superiour, saith *Peter Charon*, *ca.* 16. of his 3 booke of Wisedome. Wherfore, Men cannot safely resist that *Authority*, nor despise that power of Kings, without they will, as acquire the name; so justly incurre the punishmenof Rebells: whom to oppose and resist, as it is commendable, so, to subdue and destroy is warrantable by Scripture; for, *Rebellion is as the sinne of Witch-craft*, as *Samuel* saith to *Saul*, from God, 1 *Sam.* 15.23. And *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*, saith God himselfe. *Exod.* 22.18.

Now, the Scripture records, and shewes us, many Iudgements of God upon *Rebells*, *Revolters*, *Seditious* and *Traiterous* persons, and the fearefull ends they came to; That so we avoyding the

sinnes, might thereby also evade the punishment: for, what a fearefull end is it, to have the Earth open her mouth, and swallow us up quicke, as it did *Corah, Dathan* and *Abiram*, *Num.* 16. 32. and to be consumed by fire from the Lord, as the Two hundred and fifty Princes of *Israel* were, at the 35. verse of that Chapter; to hang by the haire of our head, betweene the Heaven and the Earth as unworthy of either, and whilest yet alive, to have our heart opened, as *Absolom*, 2 *Sam.* 18. 9. 14. to be slaine, and drawen and dragged from the place, as *Joab* was, 1 *Kings* 2. 34. to be hanged, as *Bigthan* and *Teresh*, the Chamberlaines of King *Ahasuerus* were, *Esther.* 2. 23. to have ones head chopped off, as *Sheba's* was, 2 *Sam.* 20 22. and both it and ones quarters hanged up, as *Baanah's* and *Rechabs* were, 2 *Sam* 4. 11. to have ones Lands, and Livelihood seised upon and given to strangers, ones Issue miserable for our sakes, and to be *Damnata memoria*, both ones name and memory as a curse to posterity, as we read, *Psal.* 109. 11. 10. 13. but were this all, (though this be much and fearefull too,) there might yet remaine some comfort; but that such persons might be wholly comfortlesse, eternall punishments remaine, to be inflicted and succeed these temporall: so saith S. *Paul Rom.* 13. 2. *They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.* And therefore that we may not come to such untimely ends, we must be carefull to avoyd such particulars, as making us partake with the persons, in the facts of Treason, Rebellion, and Sedition; may make us share also, in the Act of punishment with them. Now Scripture shewes us many wayes, whereby a man may partake with others, and so become guilty: as by being a Champion, or Leader for them; as *Joab* to *Adonijah* 1 *Kings* 1, 7. by being a Spokesman or Orator for them, as *Jeroboam*, to his Crew, 1 *Kings* 12. 4. by blowing the Trumpet, that is animating them, and setting them on; as *Sheba*, 2 *Sam.* 20. 1. by giving them shrewd advice to manage their matters and affaires; as *Achitophel* to *Absolom*, 2 *Sam.* 16. 21. By praying for their successe: that was all *Abiathar* the Priest could do, 1 *Kings* 2. 7. by bruiting infamous Speeches, or libells of the King; as *Shemei* did, 2 *Sam* 16. 7. by harbouring or receiving them; as the City *Abel* did *Sheba*, and should have been sacked for it, had not the wisedome of the wise woman prevented it, 2 *Sam.* 20. 14. 16. by furnishing them with money, or supplies otherwise; as the men of *Sichem*, to *Abimelech*, *Judges.* 9. 4. by being (if not partie yet) privie to it, and not opposing, as *David* had been to *Saul's* death,

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if he had not hindred *Abishai*, 1 *Sam.* 26. 9. or by being, at the least privie, and not disclosing it; which had beene *Mordecai's*, case, if he had concealed the Eunouches *Treason*, *Esther*, 2. 22. And lastly, (which is as bad as any of the rest,) by speaking, or writing, in praise or defence, either of the deed or the doers; which is their case, *Numb.* 16. 41. calling *Corah* and his Company, *The people of the Lord*; for sure if the Consenter be in, the Commender much more. And as Gods Law, so likewise the Statute and Common Law of this *Realme*, (mongst many other) have declared one grand way, wherby a man may not only become actually guilty, but also partake with the guilty in the Act. And that is thus expresst, by the Statute of 25. *Ed.* 3. *ca.* 2. *If a man doe levy warre, against our Lord the King, in his Realme; or be adherent to the Kings Enemies in his Realme, giving to them aid and comfort, in the Realme or elsewhere, and thereof be probably attainted, of open deed. by people of their condition, he is guilty of Treason.* And our Bookes, expound this branch of that Statute thus, *He doth levye warre against the King, who doth encounter in fight, such as be assisting to the King, in his warres; And he is adherent and giveth comfort to the Kings Enemies, who, in open field, giveth battaile to the Kings friends, for taking the Kings part.* So *Poulton de pace Regis & Regni. Tit. Treasons.* 4. *Daltons Justice of peace, fo.* 224. and the yeere booke of, 45. *Ed.* 3. 25. and this was the Law to before that Statute. And so, *Brooke, Tit. Treasons*, 7. and *Stamford, fo.* 1. *b.* and *Poulton*, and *Dalton* in the places cited, doe report for Law, from the yeere booke 21. *Ed* 3. *fo.* 23. 24. That, *If a man accompanied with a convenient number of persons, doe ride towards the King, to help him in his warres, and another doth encounter him, and kill him, this is high Treason*, also it was adjudged *Treason* (as they report from the booke of *Assises*, 21. *Ed.* 3. *Pl.* 49.) before the cited Statute, to *kill the Kings Messenger, who was sent to execute his Commandment.* Whereby, we see it is *Treason*, not only to oppose the King, but also to oppose and kill such, who either take his part, or execute his Commands, in time of warre: And therefore, as every one abominates, the very Name of *Traitor* or *Rebell*; so let every one likewise be carefull, how he may avoyd those Crimes of *Treason* and *Rebellion*, and that he partake not with the Authors or Fomenters thereof, in any the kinds before specified. Wherefore considering the Premisses, If so be God should be pleased to give us a wicked Prince, and to set an evill King over us, (which his Name be ever praised for it, as yet we

have not, and he grant our sinnes never provoke him to doe it) my advice then grounded upon Scripture, in this case, is, That we well pondering that saying of King *Salomon*, *Pro.* 21. 1. *The Kings heart is in the hands of the Lord, and he turneth it whithersoever he will,* (though he never turne them to wickednesse) That therefore if he be wickedly bent, we pray unto Almighty God, to dispose and turne his heart right, so as it best seemeth to his godly wisedome, for our good, over whom he hath set him; and then, notwithstanding our prayers, so be he still continueth wicked and evill, Then neither to rebell against him, or depose him; but only patiently waite the Lords leisure, till he remove him from us: for, as the Prophets *Daniel* and *Hosea*, both tell us, *God sets up Kings, and he takes away Kings,* (*therefore we must not:*) *Dan.* 2. 21. and *Hosea* 13. 11. And true Piety, as it bindes the Subject to desire a good Soveraigne, so likewise doth it, to beare with a bad one: which *Tacitus*, (though an Heathen) could tell us, saying, Subjects must, *Bonos Principes vota expetere, qualescunq; tamen tollerare.*

And thus briefly, we have shewen from the Word of God, That the duty of Subjects to their Lawfull King, is to obey him, as Gods Lieutenant on earth, in all Commands, except directly against God, as the Commands of Gods Minister; acknowledging him as a Iudge set over them by God, and having power to judge them, but to be judged onely by God, to whom alone he must give account of his Actions and judgement: and therefore to love him, as their Father; to pray for him, as their protector; for his continuance, if he be good; for his amendment, if he be wicked; following and obeying his Lawfull Commandes; eschewing and flying his fury in his unlawfull; without other resistance save only *Prayers & Teares*, according to the practise & example of the Christians in the Primitive Church, whose only Armes and resistance against their persecuting Emperours, were *Preces & Lachrymæ*: wherupon saith S. *Ambrose* excellently, *Coactus repugnare, non novi; Dolere, potero; pati fero, potero, gemere: adversus Arma, Milites; Gothos quoq; Lachrymæ mea Arma sunt; aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere:* and *Gregory Nazianzen* gives the reason, *Quia solum hoc contra persequutorem erat remedium:* whom the Subjects thought, might sooner be stild and conquered by their Teares and words, then by their Reproches and Swordes.

But now perhaps, some will object, That this labour might have beene spared; forasmuch (say they) as what hath beene here spoken,

concernes

concernes private men alone, and not *Magistrates*. But to such I answer (with him, who is the Glory of this Age, and much admired, for his incomparable and eximious knowledge, both in divine and humane learning; to wit *Hugo Grotius*.) That indeed, There have beene found some learned men in this Age, as *Peter Martyr*, *Paeus* the father, *Iunius Brutus*, *Danaus*, and some others, who have first perswaded themselves, and then endeavoured to perswade others, That all which hath beene alledged, obliges only private Men, but not the Inferiour Magistrates; in whom they suppose to reside a power, to oppose and resist the injuries of him, who hath the *Supreame power* in a State; yea, and that they offend, if so be they doe not; which opinion is not to be admitted or allowed; inasmuch, that as it is but meerely an opinion, so withall it makes against the good, and is destructive to the very being of *Peace*, and to the quietnesse of Government: for if this be admitted, to what a world of misery should a State continually be subjected? For then, any Act of a Kings which the Magistrates shall please to interpret, *Injurious to the State*, shall immediately become a just ground for the people to assume armes and rebell; whereby, not onely the publike peace shall be unsetled, and the people be altogether deprived of its benefits; but also a Kings Sacred Person, (which should be pretious in his Subjects eyes, as being Gods annointed,) yea, and the whole body of the State, (which would willingly, ever preserve it selfe in safety and quiet,) shall be both, very often exposed, not only to distraction, but even to destruction too; even so often as seemeth good to the Magistrates; many times for slight and tollerable matters; yea and is were to be wished, that not sometimes too for private revenge. And therefore *Du Bartas*, saith very well, *Better is were, to suffer some disorder in the State, and some spots in the Common-wealth, then in pretending to reformation, utterly to overthrow the Republike*. But how ever, though the Magistrate may both pretend and intend good, by the taking up armes; yet (according to that Divine *Axiom* in Theology) *We must not doe evill, that good may ensue*. Wherefore, as the Opinion is not to be received or allowed of, for the Reasons premised, and so) that it is but an opinion, (and meere opinion may be erroneous); so also is it to be rejected, as being, neither true, nor having any divine example whereon truely to ground it.

Now, that the Opinion is false, and that Magistrates have no such

power as is pretended, but are alſo bound to obey, and conſequently not to reſiſt, as well as the Inferiour ſort of Subjects, will appeare by Reaſon and Scripture: And therefore wee muſt conſider and know, That although Magiſtrates, in reſpect of the Inferiour ſort, are publike perſons in a ſtate, yet being oppoſed to the Supreame power, they are but as private men; and in this Reſpect, the Reaſon of obedience is common both to Magiſtrate and people: For S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13.1. when he bids *That every Soule be Subject to the higher powers*, By every Soule, (that is, by Synecdoche, every Man) he doth aſwell meane and include Magiſtrates, as inferiour Subjects: For as Magiſtrates were but private men, till ſuch time Kings conferd that honour and power upon them; ſo that being withdrawne, they are againe rendred but private men in the State.

Now that Magiſtrates alſo are the Kings Subjects, no man will deny; And that their power is conferd on them, from and by the Supreame, themſelves cannot deny; but, that the Supreame, hath transferred and committed to them, full and lawfull power, to oppoſe and reſiſt him, when, and as often as he doth amiſſe, in their Iudgements, all Men may truly deny; and no man I am ſure can lawfully prove: For all that faculty and power of governing, which is placed in the Magiſtrate, is ſo ſubjected to the Supreame power, that whatſoever is done by them, contrary to the will and command of him that rules in cheife, is eſteemed and adjudged, but as the Act of a private man. Celebrious therefore is that ſaying of S. *Auguſtine*, and alleadged to this purpoſe by the ſaid *Hugo Grotius*. (*li.* 1. *de Iure belli & pacis. ca.* 4. *Sect.* 6.) *Ipſas humanarum rerum gradus volvere; Si aliquid jubeat Curator, faciendum; non tamen, ſi contrà Proconſul jubeat: aut ſi Conſul aliquid jubeat, & aliud Imperator, non vilis, contemnis potiorem, ſed eligis Maiori ſervire: ut hinc debet minor iraſci, ſi major negaverit eſt.* Which alſo is proved by divine authority; for S. *Peter*, when he ſaith; 1 *Epiſt.* 2. 13. 14. *Submit your ſelves for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreame, or unto Governours, as unto them that are ſent by him, &c.* wherein, we ſee he mentions both Kings and Magiſtrates, yet would, that we ſhould be Subject and yeeld obedience, (as the words inſinuate,) one way to the King, and another way to the Magiſtrate: to the Kings as Supreame in all things, and that without any exception, ſave alone

lone in such things as he Commandes contrary to Gods Will and Word; but to the Magistrates, as sent by him, that is, in respect they derive their power, which they have received and possesse, from the King, and so represent his Person that sends them: which also our Saviour intimates, *Joh* 19. 11. Where speaking to *Pilate*, (who was the Magistrate, and Deputed to the Government of *India* by *Cæsar*,) he saith to him, *Thou couldest have no power at all against me*, (viz. to Judge me,) *except it were given thee from above*, that is, as from God, so likewise from the power above thee, to wit, *Cæsar*. And therefore onely, is it, That by the afore cited Statute of 25. *Edw.* 3. ca. 2. *It is declared to be High Treason, to kill the Chancellor, Treasurer, or Justice of either Bench, Justice in Eire, or of Assises*, (who are the grand subordinate Magistrates of the Realme) *or any other Justices assigned to hear and determine, sitting in the Bench or place of Judgement, and doing their office*: Because they then represent the Kings Person. Wherefore, if the King be the Head of the people, according to the Prophet *Samuel*; and the Higher power, according to the Apostle S. *Paul*; and the Supreame, according to the Apostle S. *Peter*, then doubtlesse there is no power equall with his, and much lesse any power above his, within his Realme and Dominion, and so Antiquity confessed; for S. *Chrisostom* tells us, that *Rex non habet parem super terram*; and *Bracton*, that *Rex non habet parem in Regno suo*, and he addes the reason, *quia sic amitteret præceptum, cum par in parem non habet Imperium*. Which is also graunted and acknowledged by the 37. Article, of the Confession of Faith, made by the Church of *England*, in these words, *The Kings Majesty hath the Chiefe power in this Realme of England, and other his Dominions, unto whom the Chiefe Government of all Estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Civill, in all causes doth appertaine*. And, the Oracle of the Common Law, Sir *Edward Coke*, doth informe us according to Law, (*li.* 5. *Caudreys case fo.* 40 *b.*) *That is appeareth aswell by the Ancient Common-lawes of this Realme, by the Resolutions & Judgements of the Iudges and Sages of the Lawes of England, in all Successions of Ages; as by authority of many acts of Parliament, Ancient, and of later times, That the Kingdome of England is an absolute Monarchy, and that the King is the only Supreame Governour, aswell over Ecclesiasticall persons, and in Ecclesiastical causes,*

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as Temporall, within this Realme. And truely the Oath of Supremacy, (which ordained by Act of Parliament, And which by force of the Statute of 1. *Eliz. ca.* 1. Every Magistrate within this Realme of *England* is to take,) makes it alto plainly appeare, for hee that takes it doth declare in his Conscience, *That the Kings Highnesse, is the onely Supreame Governour of this Realme, and of all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall.* And therefore surely, if Magistrates acknowledge a power above themselves, (as they who have tooke that Oath, cannot deny but they have) then doubtlesse, They are not to Governe him, but rather to Governe for him, according to that power he hath committed to them, and then consequently, be both bound to obey, and forbid to resist that Supreame and Higher power, aswell as other private Subjects be; wherefore what ever hath beene said, in respect of their duty, doth aswell concerne Magistrates.

And further, as there is no cleare Text, that declares it lawfull to resist the Higher power, in any case; so neither is there any Divine and apposite example in Scripture, that I could ever meete with yet (no, not alleadged by the adverse partie in maintanance of their opinion,) whereon truely to ground such an opinion, and proove such a Lawfull power, to oppose the Supreame, and to reside in the Inferiour Magistracy, or Optimacy of a Realme: but on the Contrary, much may be said and deduced from thence, to disproove, and evince that position: In contradiction whereof, S. *Chrisostome* hath afoorded us a good observation, (*Homil. 2. in Epist. 2. ad Timoth.*) *Insurrexerunt adversus Aaron post vituli formatam effigiem, Core, Dathan & Abiron; quid ergo? nonne illi periere? &c.* Saith hee; It was after That *Aaron* had sinned foolishly and hainously, in making the Calfe, that *Core, Dathan* and *Abiron* rebelled against him; but what then? did they not perish? Yes, they did; and that was to shew, that although the Governour might be wicked, yet it was not for them who were under him, to take upon them, to correct him, or rebell against him; no, though they were the Optimates and Peeres of a Realme; for wee know the Two hundred and fifty Princes of *Israel*, that joyned in the Conspiracy and Rebellion against *Moses* and *Aaron*

Aaron, perished aswell, yea and as strangely too, as *Corah* and his Company. And besides, among the *Iewes*, where, though there were so many Kings, who were no lesse contemners of the Divine, then of humane Lawes, doe wee read, that ever the Inferiour Magistrates (amongst whom, there were no doubt, many godly and valiant men,) did at any time assume power to oppose their Kings, but only when they received a speciall command from God, who alone hath power above Kings, and to correct them: Nor ever read wee, that the Statues and Idolls of the false Gods, which were publikely set up by the Kings of *Iudah* and *Israel*, were dejected or demolished, but by the command of the good Kings which God gave them, when they came to rule over the people. And so wee see, That Idolatry continued in the Kingdome of *Israel* and no reformation, from the time of *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Nebat*, and first King of *Israel*, who made *Israel* to sinne, and set up the two *Golden Calves and the Altar at Bethel*, 1 *Kings* 12. 28. 33. untill the time of good *Iosiah* King of *Iudah*, who demolished them, as we read, 2 *Kings*, 23. and 2 *Chron.* 34. 7. according to the Word of the Lord, spoken by the man of God, which Prophesied against the *Altar at Bethel*, 1 *King* 13. 2. after they had continued above the space of 300. yeares: during which time, doubtlesse, there were many Religious men and Magistrates in *Israel*; and yet notwithstanding, we read not of any that opposed the King, though an Idolater, nor yet that tooke upon them to remove the Idolls from amongst them, till such time it pleased God, to send King *Iosiah* to doe it, according as he had foretold by the Prophets: but it is to be presumed, that during that space, every good man, only looked to himselfe, that he polluted not his own soule by such spirituall whoredome, and withall resolved and endeavoured with *Ioshua*, (*Ioshua* 24. 15.) *That He and his household, might serve the Lord.* If then Idolatry, and defection from God, tyranny over the people, and persecution of the Saints for their profession, hindred not the Spirit of God, to Command the people to yeild due and hearty obedience to their cruell Kings, as we have shewen, before from *Ieremiah* and S. *Paul*, towards *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Nero*; what shameleſſe presumption then is it, for any Christian people, now a dayes, to claime, such an unlawfull liberty and power, to resist, oppose or depose their lawfull Kings, which God refused to grant

to his own peculiar and chosen people the *Iewes*.

For in the first Booke of *Samuel*, in the 8. Chapter, where *Samuel* makes the discription of a King, and shewes the people the manner of their King that should Raigne over them (not that all things there mentioned by *Samuel* from the Lord, were by him granted as lawfull for a King to do, but *Samuel* relates the maner) thereby to prepare their hearts before hand, to the due obedience of that King, which God was to give unto them, & so he there openeth to them, what might be the intollerable quallities, that might happen either in him, or some other of their Kings, through their inordinate appetites,) thereby preparing them to patience, and not to resist *Gods Ordinance*, if so be the licentiousnesse of their Kings will, should extend so far as to do such things as hee there mentioneth; as if he would have said; Since God hath granted your importunate suite in giving you a King, as yee have formerly committed an error, in shaking of Gods yoke and over-hasty seeking of a King: so now beware, yee fall not into the next also, in casting off rashly, that yoke, which God at your earnest suite hath layd upon you, how hard so ever it seemes to be: for as you could not have obtained a King, without the permission and ordinance of God; so in no wise, can yee shake him off without the same warrant: since hee, that hath the only power to make him, hath also, alone the power to unmake him; and therefore bee yee obedient, and patiently beare with those straights that I shall fore-shew you, as with the finger and hand of God, which lyeth not in your power to take off: For saith he, *verse* 11. *This will be the manner of your King, that shall raigne over you: Hee will take your Sonnes, & appoint them for himselfe, for his Charriots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall runne before his Charriots &c.* That is briefly, Hee will exercise very much cruelty, oppression and Tyranny over you, almost beyond humane patience to endure; But yet for all this, although hee should doe so, Yet wee doe not at all read there, That the People should then disobey him, neither of any liberty granted to them, or power granted to the *Magistrates* to oppose him for so doing, or to restraine his power, or to redresse those evills themselves, but being destitute of all humane Remedies, they were onely, to *cry unto the Lord*, to remedy them; as wee reade at *verse* the 18. For indeed there is no Lawfull way of redresse, but by our addresses to God by prayer, to turne his heart; and

to the King by petition, to reforme his actions: and so our owne old Law teacheth us; for *Bracton, li. 3. cap. 8.* speaking of the King, saith thus, *Si ab eo petatur, locus erit Supplicationi, quod factum suum corrigat & emendet, quod quidem si non fecerit, satis sufficit ei ad penam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem: Nemo quidem de facilis sine presumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum ire.* And therefore it is very remarkeable, that amongst the many Prophets, that God sent to reprehend the Kings of *Israel* and *Iudah*, for their Idolatry, Cruelty, and Oppression, how wicked soever the Kings were; yet never any of them called upon the people, or perswaded the Elders of the people, to resist, or oppose them: but whereas it seemed good to God, to punish the wicked Kings of *Iudah* for their great sinnes, (whereof some were, oppression of their subjects) wee read that hee did it by the *Assirians*, by the *Egyptians*, by the *Babylonians* and not by the Iewes their Subjects; to teach us, That hee teacheth us not Rebellion and disobedience, nor is the author thereof; and withall, That wee should not take upon us to remedy such things, but to leave that to him, to whom Vengeance belongeth, *Psal. 94. 1. For Vengeance is mine, and I will repay saith the Lord, Deut. 32. 35.* and againe, by S. *Paul, Rom. 12. 19.* and *Heb. 10. 30.* And if at any time, Acts of violence were committed upon the Persons of wicked Kings, so that they were killed, yet we doe not ever read, That God approved of the murder, but Contrariwise, that hee punished the doers thereof: nor are such passages recorded in Sacred story, in approbation of the fact, but onely as a Testimony of Divine providence, sometimes permitting it: and so wee read, that the servants of King *Ioash*, 2 *Chron. 24. 25.* conspired against him, and slew him on his bed. But such examples, onely shew us what was done by others, not what ought to be done by us: but on the contrary, the Prophet *Samuel*, by his owne example, shewes what the duty of *Governours* and *Magistrates* is towards their King, though a wicked Man; even to honour him before the people: when as, 1 *Sam. 15. 30.* The Elders and the people looking on him, hee yet yeelds his wonted reverence toward King *Saul*, though a wicked person, and having also, but newly transgressed Gods holy Commandes.

Remarkeable also, is that passage recorded by all the Evangelists, and which we read of, *Mat.* 26. 50 51. *Marc.* 14. 47. *Luc.* 22. 50. 51. and *Joh.* 18. 10. 11. where, when as *Simon Peter drew forth his sword and cut off Malcus his eare, who was the Servant of the high Priest*, our Lord and Master, immediatly *touched his eare, and healed him againe*, and withall rebuked *Peter, bidding him put up his sword*: Now in that he healed the High Priest servants Eare againe; it was to shew us, as the Power of his Divinity by the Cure, so also, that *Peter* had offended by cutting it off: But in that he bidds *Peter* to put up his sword againe; it was to teach us, That if such who have the Supreame Power and Authority, doe unjustly injure us, we should rather beare it with patience, then resist them by violence; For as Christ there saith to *Peter*, *They which take the sword* (viz. to resist authority, as *Peter* did, though in a good cause to defend our most innocent Saviour) *shall perish with the Sword*; and S. *Paul* saith *Rom.* 13. 1. *They that resist the powers, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

Wherefore, weighing the premises, and that even *Magistrates* are but as private Men, in respect of the King, and so as well bound to obey him, as his Inferiour Subjects; Therefore to conclude, let every Subject, whether, *Magistrate*, *Optimate*, or *Infimate*, conceive & apprehend himselfe in the Condition of a private Man, (as doubtlesse he is, when opposed to the Supreame,) and then, if he would faine preserve himselfe safe, from offending either God, his owne Conscience, or the King, and so perserve himselfe from error, then I am sure, he cannot have a more safe, or better example to follow, then that which *Iesus Christ*, our most blessed Lord & Saviour himselfe hath shewen us, whom we all doe stedfastly beleeve, to have been, most holy, just, innocent and inoffensive; and yet, though he was not only ever falsly accused, & being once said to have a Divell; & shamelessely abused, as being mocked, scoffed at, blinded, and then spit on; but also undeservedly punished, as being buffeted, scourged, & crowned with thornes, yet did endure all those opprobries, injuries, & punishments, with so great patience, as that, though we read *Mat.* 26. 53. *He could have had more then twelve Legions of Angels*, to have defended him, but for praying for; yet we never read, That he did resist, and but seldome, that he so much as answered againe: And S. *Peter*, 1 *Epist.* 2. 21. tells us, *That Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps*; which if we doe,

Then

Then the Comfort and Result will be, *That if we Suffer with him,* or for him, or for his sake, *We shall also reigne with him,* as S. *Paul* assures us, 2 *Timoth.* 2. 12.

Berchetus in explicat. controver. Gallicana cap. 7.

These testimonies are cleere enough, and yet to all these I will adde this one memorable example, which you may read in *Berchetus*, and *Ioh. Servinus*, which tells us, that in *France*, after the great *Massacre* at *Paris*, when the reformed Religion did seeme as it were forsaken, and almost extinguished, a certaine King powerfull in strength, rich in wealth, and terrible for his Ships, and navall force, which was at enmitie and hatred with the King of *France*, dispatched a solemne Embassie and message unto *Henry* King of *Navarre*, & other Protestant Lords, and commanded his Embassadours to do their best to set the Protestants against the Pastists, and to arme *Henry* the Prince of *Navarre*, which then lived at *Bearne*, under the Dominion of the most Christian King, against his Soveraigne, the *French King*, which thing the Embassadours indeavoured to doe, withall there art and skill, but all in vaine, for *Henry* being a good Subject, as it were another *David*, to become a most excellent King, would not prevent the day of his Lord; yet the Embassadors offered him many ample, faire, and magnificent conditions, among the rest, abundance of Money, the summe of three hundred thousand, *aureorum scutatorum*, *French* crownes, which were ready to be told for the preparation of the warre, and for the continuation of the same, there should be payd every Moneth so much as was necessary, but *Henry* being a faithfull Christian, a good Prince, a widower, and though he was displaced, from the publike government of the common-wealth; and for his sake, for the dislike the King bare towards him, the King had banished many Protestants from his Country, and had killed many faithfull Pastors; yet would not he for all this lift up his hand against the Lords annointed, but refused their Gold, rejected their conditions, and dismissed their Embassadors, as witnesses of his faith to God, his fedility and allegiance to his King, and peaceable mind towards his Country.

The summe then of all, which hath beene said, is this; That so be, the licentious will of a King, be not terminated by Gods Law, and the Law of that Republike over which God hath set him, but that he will needs swerue from both rules: that then his Subjects presume not to oppose his unjust commands, by an unlawfull Sedition

or

or Rebellion, which is most odious in the sight of God and Men; but rather by slight, or passive obedience; according to Gods Word, and his peoples example; by both which, we suppose the point hath beene clearely proved: which if we do, then may we stand up with cleane hands and unspotted consciences, having proved our selves in all our actions, true Christians towardes God, and dutifull Subjects towards our King, having remitted the judgement and punishment of all his wrongs to us, unto him to whom onely of right it appertaineth.

A Prayer.

O Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast taught us by thy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turne them, as it seemeth best to thy godly wisedome: therefore wee humbly beseech thee so to dispose and governe the heart of CHARLES, *thy Servant, our King and Governour, that he knowing whose Minister he is, may in all his thoughts, words and workes, ever seeke thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth peace, and godlines; and grant that wee his Subjects, duely considering whose Authority he hath, may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word and Ordinance, through* IESVS CHRIST *our Lord,* Amen.

FINIS.

A Briefe 20

DECLARATION

OF

All the Civill VVarres that have happened in

ENGLAND;

First, in the Raigne of King *John*.
Secondly, in the Barrons Warrs.
Thirdly, in *Yorke* and *Lancaster* Warrs.
Fourthly, in the Raigne of *Henry* the eight.
Fifthly, in the Raigne of King *Edward* the sixth.
Sixthly, in the Raigne of Queene *Mary*.
Seventhly, in the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*.
Eightly, in the Raigne of King *James*.
Ninthly, in the Raigne of King *CHARLES*.

Also

Declaring the Civill Warre that happened in other Nations.

fol. 24 obl

LONDON, Printed in the Yeer 1643.

DECLARATION

A Briefe Declaration &c.

Many there are that speake of peace few that Rightly endeavoure to procure peace the high Court of Parliament hath manifested by there sincere and earnest proceedings that nought is in there actions but peace it might with honour and safety both to King and people be obtained, but the contrary oppinions and desiers of many in this Kingdome could or would not strive to perfect that worke begunn, some are willfully desirous of the destruction of the whol, so they and their estates may be preserved, though others be ruinated, some are ignorant of that which may effect a perfect and inviolable peace and therefore stand as Newters, neither contributing to the Parliament or the perverse party And some with their persons and estates sustaine both parties which diversity hath this present division bin raised and cherished, for composing of both one thing is nessessary to be observed the sad and deplorable condition of other nations in present and former times procured onely through domistik Broiles and civill discentions, raised by severall factions in the same inhabitants, let us therefore look Back to former Ages

and see the inferiors of other nations, and then upon our owne.

The Kingdome of *Italy*, whereof Rome is the Metropolitan Seat, and the Pope Supreame Governour, who through the insolency of his Clergie to the oppressing of the other Churches not only in that Kingdome but in most nations Europe commonly denominated Christendome, procured, first civill discension and then called in forraigne Assistance till at the last came in by succession as Conquerors

The Goths, East, and West, Guals Vandals, Hispanians, or Spaniard, and Germanes, and several destroyed Rome the Head of Cities and possessed Italy,

[redacted]

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rogative and Religion.

The miseries Syrians Swevi Boemians and here Palatinate fre yet and bleeding, only touching Religion and Provinces titles.

The French Nation is now devided and entred into civill Blood the[y] took Prerogative and Religion which hath already caused the losse of much Christian Blood.

And now I come to our owne Kingdome England this nation is filled with presidents of bloody differences between severall Princes thereof and Subjects, touching Prerogative and Religion, in the Reigne of King Iohn through civill broile betweene him and his peeres, stirred up by the Pope, this Kingdome was surrendred up to hold of the See of Rome, and the Subjects Lawes, and Immunities, tyed and bounded to the Popes desire and Tyranny, the King himselfe, for but attempting to redresse there grevances and pull his owne neck out of that yoake of Romish servitude by the consenting to the advi of his Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament in the 17.th Yere of Raigne was Trayterously Poysoned by a mounke.

In the Reigne of H. 3. the Barrons Warrs began and Continued many yeare during which many a thousand lost there lives much discord was in this land, and all concerning prerogative and Subjects Liberty.

When these civill warrs was ended then began the Yorkeish and Lancastrian warrs which continued to *H.* 7. which in expressable slaughters and bloody Massakers of the People of this land these warrs were onely touching title to the Crowne, first beguane by *Henry the 4th.*

In the Reigne of *H.* 8. Betweene *Anno.* 28 and 33. during the time of the Reformation of Religion, what bloudie Roomes in the Kingdome was raised by the Romanists of those times but those troubles through the wisdome of the Prince treating with his Parliament were appeased without the shedding of much bloud.

Yet

and see the inferiors of other nations, and thereupon ruine owne.

The Kingdome of Italy, whereof Rome is the Metropolitan Sea, and the Popes Supreame Governour, who through the infolency of his Clergie to the oppressing of the other Churches not onely in that Kingdome but in most nations Europe commonly denominated Christendome, procured, first civill discension and then called in forraigne Assistance till at the last came in by succession as Conquerour.

The Goths, East, and West, Guals Bandals Hispanians, or Spaniard, and Germanes, and several wasted Rome the Head of Cities and possessed Italy, the first destruction of which was Prelaticall Pride and Arrogancy.

The Empire of Germany torne in peeces and brought to confusion and desolation, by civill broiles and insurrections, the bishops of Rome and Papist Locums, the first meners and Principall Authers thereof.

The Kingdome of Spaine many times much shaken, but now brought to the brinke or point of destruction, many premises revolted from the Spanish Crowne and some became intire Kingdomes as Portugall &c. and the onely cause of this touching Prerogative and Religion.

The Netherlands Swizers Sweden Bohemians and there Palatinate are yet and bleeding, onely touching Religion and Provinces rights.

The French Nation is now devided and entred into civill blood, onely touching Prerogative and Religion which hath already caused the losse of much Christian Blood.

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Yet

Yet was the change in Religion greater then now, for then was an utter rejection of the Romish Religion firmely established in the Kingdom, but now the indeavour of the Parliament is only to purge, not change religion, from erronious doctrine crept in, and introduced by the Prelates and from Superstitious & Idolatrous worshipp in the excercise thereof; Therefore if King and Parliament would but agree, these sadd & bloody distempers would soone be ended, and the Papisticall and Malignant party soone suppressed and reduced to due subjection and obedience to their Soveraigne and the Lawes and Constitutions of the Kingdom, till which be obtained, there is little hope of Peace or Accommodation.

In the Raign of *E.6.* many insurrections were raised in this Kingdome to the great disturbance of the Peace thereof, about Religion and that phenix of his time in all the world, in the flo ver and prime of his youth cut of by private Treason, as it was strongly presumed and suggested; but the bloody persecutor raised in the raigne of *P.* and *M.* brought this Nation into as sadd a condition as now it is, then nothing but fire and faggot made destruction of Protestants blood, for the time not parrelleld in any Nation of Christendome. The practices and Treasonable Plots agitated privately and publiquely against the life of second phœnix of the world, Q. *Eliz.* of happy memory, and that second *Solomon* of his time K. *James*, by Preists and Jesuires and Papists, may make the Protestants take perpetuall heede and diligent care of that faction, to suppresse them in time, before they get tostrong a party in this Kingdom, for nought else

is their ends of their endeavoures, but slaughter, blood, and destruction.

The bleeding condition the Realme and Kingdome of *Ireland* now stands in is knowne to all men, and can it be otherwise expected but the same will befall *England* if these divisions continue, and no reconciliation be made betweene King and People.

It is now time for every member of this greate body pollitique to set to his helping hand, use his best witts and pollicie to compose these distempers; do not these Malignants begin to use the same cruelty in those places of the Kingdom where they obtaine the Predommence, as the Popish Rebells do in *Ireland*, the late example of them at *Cicester*, may be a warning peece to the other parts of the Kingdome, to stand upon their own defence, and not give the least way to their adversaries; it is better to die then to live in perpetuall slavery, till such time as an honourable and safe Peace may be treated and concluded. Let therefore all men that have any care of Religion, or of their ther posterity endeavour with his Life and Estate to prevent the destruction of both, for if one, that is religion; be corrupted or destroyed, needs must the other be ruinated: for where that is not respected, fraud and oppression must needs be the let and portion of the other: And I concieve that Peace cannot be effected by divers oppinionate persons, severall Sects and factions can never make one entire and safe Government, there must be an uniformity in Religion, Ecclesiasticall Government and Discipline, and in civill Constitutions one entire Government is safest: though many and divers Lawes and Ordnances may be ad-

admitted in the Government of a State and Common-wealth, yet must they all hang and have both dependition and dependence upon the Common received and used Fundamentall Lawes of this Realme. And so chang such a Government cannot be without diminution and confusion to the same, yet is the whole State not bound for perpetuity to observe the ancient lawes without limitation or restriction, but as the exegency of times alter and change, the State in its intire body representative in Parliament may according to the wisdome and present pollicie of the same, change or alter Government for the weale and publicke good thereof.

And thus much shall suffice for a short inducemēt to all well affected Christians to study and endeavour a speedy Peace, and I shall, as in duty I am bound to God, my King and Country, pray, That the Lord Almighty who is the Father of Peace, and his only Sonne the Prince of Peace, and the holy Spirit the spirit of Peace, would be pleased to put an end to this unnaturall difference, and graunt Peace in this Iland, that every one in Peace and quietnesse, may injoy the fruits of his labour to himselfe and Posterity.

FINIS.

21

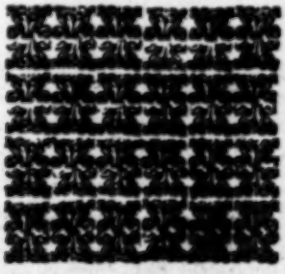
Touching the

Fundamentall Lawes,

Or Politique Conſtitution of this Kingdome, The KINGS Negative Voice, and The Power of PARLIAMENTS.

To which is annexed,

The priviledge and power of the Parliament touching The MILITIA.



LONDON

Printed for *Thomas Underhill*, and are to be ſold at the ſigne of the Bible in Woodſtreet.

feb: 24 M.DC.XLIII. 1642

Fundamentall Lawes,

Of Policie: Concerning the Duty of Subiects, and
dome. The Kings Negative
Voice, and The Power of
PARLIAMENTS.

LONDON
Printed for Thomas Underhill, and are to be

TOUCHING FVNDAMENTALL LAVVS, AND The KINGS Negative Voice.

FVndamentall Laws are not (or at least need not be) any written agreement like Peace-stones between King and People, the King himselfe being a part (not party) in those Laws, and the Common-wealth not being like a Corporation treated by Charter, but treating it selfe. But the fundamentall Law or Laws is a setling of the laws of nature and common equity (by common consent) in such a forme of Polity and Government, as that they may be administred amongst us with honour and safety. For the first of which therefore, we are governed by a King: and for the second, by a Parliament, to oversee and take order that that honourable trust that is put into the hands of the King for the dignity of the Kingdome, be rightly executed, and not abused to the alteration of the Politique Constitution taken up and approved, or to the destruction of that, for whose preservation it was ordered and intended. A principall part of which honour, is that royall assent he is to give for the enacting of such good Laws as the people shal chuse, for they are first to consult their own safety and welfare, and then he who is to be intrusted with it, is to give an honourable confirmation to it, and so to put an Impresse of Majesty and Royall authority upon it.

Fundamentall Laws then are not things of capitulation between King and people, as if they were Forrainers and Strangers one to another, (nor ought they or any other Laws so to be, for then the King should governe for himselfe, not for his people) but they are things of constitution, treating such a relation, and giving such an existence and being by an externall polity to King and Subjects, as Head and Members, which constitution in the very being of it is a Law held

forth with more evidence, and written in the very heart of the Republique, farre firmlyer then can be by pen and paper, and in which first we owe our Allegiance to the King as Head, (not onely by power, but influence) and so part of the constitution, not as a party capitulating for a prerogative against or contrary to it, which whosoever seeks to set up, or side with, doe break their Allegiance, and rebell against the State, going about to deprive the King of his juridicall and lawfull authority, conferred upon him by the constitution of this State, under the pretence of investing him with an illegall and unconstitutive power, whereupon may follow this grand inconvenience, The withdrawment of His peoples Allegiance, which, as a Body conered with the Head by the constitution of this Kingdome, is owing to him; his person in relation to the body, as the enlivening and quickning head thereof, being sacred and taken notice of by the laws in that capacity, and under that notion as made inviolate.

And if it be conceived that Fundamentall Laws must needs be only extant in writing, this is the next way to bring all to confusion, for then by the same rule the King bids the Parliament produce their laws that fundamentally give them their being, privileges & power, (*Which by the way is not like the power of inferiour Courts, that are springs of the Parliament, dealing betweene party and party, but is answerable to their trust, this Court being it selfe Fundamentall and Paramount, comprehending Law and Equity, and being intrusted by the whole for the whole, is not therefore to be circumscribed by any other Laws which have their being from it, not it from them, but onely by that Law which at first gave it its being, to wit,* Salus populi) By the same rule I say the Parliament may also intreat the King to produce those Laws that Fundamentally give him his being, power and honour. Both which must therefore be determined, not by laws, for they themselves are laws, yea the most supreame and fundamentall law, giving law to laws themselves, but by the received constitution or polity, which they themselves are; and the end of their constitution is the law or rule of their power, to wit, An honourable and safe Regiment of the Common-wealth, which two whosoever goeth about to divide the one of them from the other, breaks the fundamentall constitutive law or Laws and polity of this kingdome, that ordinance of man which we are to submit unto; nor can or ought any statute or written law whatsoever, which is of later Edition and inferiour Condition, being but an off-spring of this rate, be interpreted or brought in Plea, against this primary and radicall constitution, without guilt of the highest Treason and destruc-

tive

ative ennity to the Publique weale and polity, because by the very constitution of this Kingdome, all laws or interpretation of laws tending to confusion or dissolution, are ipso facto void. In this case we may allude and say, That the Covenant which was 400. yeers before the Law, an after-Act cannot disanull it.

Ob. It may be objected, that this discourse seems to make our Government to be founded in Equity, not in Law, or upon that common rule of Salus populi, which is alike common to all Nations, as well as any: and so what difference?

Ans. The Fundamentall laws of England are nothing but the Common laws of Equity and Nature reduced into a particular way of policy, which policy is the ground of our title to them, and interest in them: For though it is true, that Nature hath invested all Nations in an equall right to the laws of Nature and Equity by a common bounty, without respect of persons, yet the severall models of externall Government and Policie renders them more or lesse capable of this their common right: For though they have an equall right in Nature to all the Laws of Nature and Equity, yet having fundamentally subjected themselves by their politique Constitutions unto a Regal servitude, by Barbarisme or the like they have thereby much disabled and divested themselves of that common benefit. But on the contrary, where the outward constitution or polity of a Republick is purposely framed for the confirming and better conserving this common right of Nature and Equity, (as in ours) there is not onely a common right, but also a particular and lawfull power joyned with this right for its maintenance and supportation. For whereas other people are without all supreame power, either of making laws or raising monies, both these bodies of supremacie being in the arbitrary hands onely of the Soveraigne Magistrate amongst many Nations, these with us are in the hands of the supreame Government, (not Governour) or Court of Judicature, to wit, the King and Parliament; here the people (like Free-men) give money to the King, he doth not take it; and offers Laws to be enacted, doth not receive them so: Now in such a constituted Kingdome, where the very Constitution its selfe is the fundamentall law of its owne preservation, as is this mixt Regiment of ours, consisting of King and Parliament, as Head and Body, comprehending Monarchie, Aristocracie, and Democracie; there the fundamentall laws are like fundamentall truths in these two properties: First, they are comprehended in a very little room, to wit, honour and safety; and secondly, they have their influence in-

to all other inferiour Laws which are to be subjected to them, and correspondent with them, as lawfull Children and naturall branches.

Ob. But in processe of time there are many written Laws which seem at least to contradict this Fundamentall Constitution, and are not they binding notwithstanding it?

Ans. The Constitution of this Kingdome which gave it its being, and which is the radicall and fundamentall law thereof, ought therefore to command in chiefe, for that it never yields up its authority to those inferiour laws, which have their being from it, nor ought they which spring from it tend to the destruction of it, but on the contrary, it is to derive its radicall vertue and influence into all succeeding laws, and they like branches are to make the root flourish, from whence they spring, with exhibiting the lively and fructifying vertue thereof, according to the nature and seasons of succeeding times; things incident in after-ages not being able to be foreseen, and particularly provided for at the beginning, saving in the fundamentall law of Salus populi, politiquely established; nor can any laws growing out of that root, bear any other fruit, then such as the nature thereof dictates; for, for a particular branch to ruine the whole foundation by a seeming sense contrary to it, or differing from it, is very absurd; for then how can it be said, Thou bearest not the root, but the root thee? Laws must alwayes relish of, and drink in the constitution or polity where they are made; and therefore with us, the laws wherein the King is nominated, and so seems to put an absolute authority into his hands, must never so be construed, for that were with a breath to blow downe all the building at once; but the King is there comprehended and meant under a two-fold notion; First, as trusted, being the Head, with that power the Law conferd upon him, for a Legall, and not an absolute purpose, tending to an honourable preservation, not an unnaturall dissolution. Secondly, as meaning him juridically, not abstractly or personally, for so onely the Law takes notice of the King as a juridicall person; for till the Legislative power be absolutely in the King, so that laws come down from him to his people, and goe not up from them to him, they must ever be so interpreted: for as they have a juridicall being and beginning, to wit, in Parliament, so must they have a suitable execution and administration, to wit, by the Courts, and legall Ministers, under the Kings authority, which according to the constitution of this Kingdome, he can no more suspend for the good of his people, then the Courts can theirs; or if he doe, to the publique hazard, then have the Courts this advantage, that for publique preservation

vation they may and must provide upon that principle, The King can doe no wrong, neither in withholding justice, nor protection from his people. So that then Salus populi being so principally respected and provided for, according to the nature of our constitution and polity, & so being Lex legum, or the rule of all laws branching thence, When if any law dos by variation of times, violence of tyrannie, or misprision of Interpreters, vary therefrom, it is a bastard, and not a son, and is by the lawful parents either to be reduced or cast out, as gendring unto bondage and ruine of the inheritance, by attempting to erect an absolute and arbitrary Government. Nor can this equitable exposition of particular Statutes taken from the scope of the politique constitution be denyed without overthrow of just and legal Monarchy, (which ever tends to publique good and preservation) and the setting up of an unjust and illegall tyrannie, ruling, if not without law, yet by abused laws, turning them as conquered ordnance upon the people. The very Scripture it selfe must borrow from its scope and principles for explanation of particular places, else it will be abused (as it is through that default) unto Heresies. See we not how falsely Satan quoted true Scripture to Christ when he tempted him, onely by urging the letter without the equity, or true intention and meaning? We are to know and doe things verum verè, justum justè, else we neither judge with righteous judgement, nor obey with just obedience.

Ob. But is not the Parliament guilty of exercising an arbitrary power, if their proceedings be not regulated by written laws, but by Salus populi?

Ans. For the Parliament to be bound up by written laws, is both destructive and absurd.

First, it is destructive, it being the Fundamental Court and Law, or the very Salus populi of England, and ordained, as to make laws, and see them executed, so to supply their deficiencie according to the present exigencie of things for publique preservation by the prerogative of Salus populi, which is universally in them, and but particularly in particular laws and statutes, which cannot provide against all future exigents, which the law of Parliaments doth, and therefore are not they to be limits to this. And it would yet be further destructive, by cutting the Parliament short of half its power at once, for it being a Court both of Law and Equity (as appears by the power of making laws, which is nothing but Equity reduced by common consent into Polity) when ever it is circumscribed by written laws, (which onely is the property of inferiour Courts) it ceaseth to be supreame, and di-

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vests it selfe of that inherent and uncircumscribed power which Salus populi comprehends.

Secondly, as it is destructive, so also it is absurd; for the Legislative power which gives laws, is not to receive laws, saving from the nature and end of its owne constitution, which as they give it a being, so they endow it with Lawes of preservation both of it selfe & the whole, which it represents.

I would not herein be misunderstood, as if the Parliament, when as it onely doth the office of inferiour Courts, judging between party & party, were not limited by written lawes: there I grant it is, because therein it only deales between *meum & tuum*, which particular written lawes can and ought to determin: so that its superlative and uncircumscribed power I intend only as relating to the Universe and the affaires thereof, wherein it is to walke by its fundamentall principles, not by particular precepts or Statutes, which are made by the Parliament, betwæn King and people, not betwæn people and Parliament: they are ordayned to be rules of Government to the King, agreeing with the liberty and property of the people, and rules of Obedience to the people without detainment of their freedome by the exercise of an illegall, usurped, and unconsented power, whereunto Kings (especially in hereditary Monarchies) are very prone, which cannot be suspected by a Parliament, which is representatively the Publike, intrusted for it, & which is like to partake and share with the Publick, being but so many private men put into authority *protempore*, by common consent, for common good.

Nor is the Parliament hereby guilty of an Arbitrary Government, or is it destructive to the Petition of Right, when as in providing for publick weale, it observes not the letter of the law, first, because as aforesaid, that law was not made betwæne Parliament and people, but by the people in Parliament betwæne the King and them, as appears by the whole tenour of it, both in the complaining and praying parts, which wholly relate to the King. Secondly, because of the common consent, that in the representative Body (the Parliament) is given thereunto, wherein England in her Polity imitates Nature in her Instincts, who is wont to violate particular principles for publique preservation, as when light things descend, and heavy ascend, to prevent a vacuum: and thirdly, because of the equitable power which is inherent in a Parliament, and for publique good is to be acted above and against any particular Statute, or all of them: and fourthly, because the end of making that Law, to wit, the publique preservation,

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is fulfild in the breaking of it, which is lawfull in a Parliament that is chosen by the whole for the whole, and are themselves also of the body, though not in a head, for therein the Law saith, better a mischeife then an inconvenience. But it may be objected, though it be not arbitrary for the Parliament to goe against written law, yet is it not so when they go against the Kings consent, which the law, even the fundamentall law, supposeth in Parliamentary proceedings; This hath beene answered, that the King is juridically and according to the intention of the law in his Courts, so that what the Parliament consults for the publick good, What by oath, and the duty of his office, and nature of this polity he is to consent unto, and in case he do deny it, yet in the construction of the fundamentall law and constitution of this Kingdom, he is conceived to grant it, supposing the head not to be so unnaturall to the body that hath chosen it for good and not for evill.

But it will be answered, where is the Kings Negative Voice if the Parliament may proceed without his consent? I answer. That there is no known nor written law that gives him any; and things of that nature are willingly believed till they be abused, or with too much violence claimed. That his Majesty hath fundamentally a right of consent to the enacting of laws is true, which (as aforesaid) is part of that honourable trust constituted in him: And that this royall assent is an act of honour and not of absolute and negative power supererogative, appeares by these following reasons.

First, by his oath at the Coronation mentioned in one of the Parliaments Declarations where he doth or should sweare to confirme and grant all such good lawes as his people *shall choose* to be observed, not *hath chosen*, for first, The word *concedis* in that oath were then unnecessary, the lawes formerly enacted being allready granted by foregoing Kings, and so they need no more *concession* or confirmation, else we must run upon this shelfe that all our laws die with the old King, and receive their being a new, by the new Kings consent. Secondly, whereby the first and second clause in that interrogatory, *viz. Concedis justas leges & permittas protegendas*, are confounded and but *idem repetere*; Thirdly, *Quas vulgus elegerit* implies onely the act of the people in a disjunctive sence from the act or consent of the King, but laws allready made have more then *quas vulgus elegerit*, they have also the royall consent too, so that that phrase cannot meane them wherein the act or consent of the King is allready involved.

Secondly, by the practise of requiring the royall assent even unto those very acts of subsidies which are granted to himselfe and for

his owne use, which it is supposed he will accept of, and yet Honoris gratia is his roiall ascent craved and contributed thereunto.

Thirdly, by the Kings not sitting in Parliament to debate and consult lawes, nor are they at all offered him by the Parliament to consider of, but to consent to, which yet are transmitted from one house to another, as well to consult as consent to, shewing thereby he hath no part in the consultory part of them (for that it belongs onely to the people in Parliament to discerne and consult their own good,) but he comes onely at the time of enacting, bringing his Royall Authority with him, as it were to set the seale thereof to the Indenture allready prepared by the people, for the King is head of the Parliament in regard of his authority, not in regard of his reason or judgement, as if it were to be opposed to the reason or judgement of both houses (which is the reason both of King and Kingdome) and therefore do they as consult so also interpret lawes without him, supposing him to be a person replenished with honour and royall authority not skilled in lawes, nor to receive information either of law or councell in Parliamentary affaires from any, saving from that supreame court and highest councell of the King and Kingdome, which admits no counterpeize, being intrusted both as the wisest Councell and justest judicature.

Fourthly, either the choise of the people in Parliament is to be the ground and rule of the Kings assent, or nothing but his pleasure, and so all Bills though never so necessary for publique good and preservation, and after never so much paines and consultation of both houses may be rejected, and so they made meere cyphers, and we brought to that passe, as either to have no lawes, or such onely as come immediately from the King (who oft is a man of pleasure, and little known publicke affaires, to be able to judge) and so the Kingdomes great councell must be subordinated either to his meere will, and then what difference between a free Monarchy, and an absolute, saving that the one rules without Councell, and the other against it, or at the best but to a cabinet councell consisting commonly of men of private interests, but certainly of no publicke trust.

Ob. But if the King must consent to such lawes as the Parliament shall chuse to propose, they may then propound unreasonable things to him, as to consent to his own deposing, or to the lessening his own revenew, &c.

Ans. So that the issue is, whether it be fitter to trust the wisdome and integrity of our Parliament, or the will and pleasure of the King in this case of so great and publicke concernment. In a word,

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the King being made the fountaine of iuſtice and protection to his people by the fundementall lawes or conſtitution of this Kingdome, he is therefore to give life to ſuch acts and things as tend thereunto, which acts depend not upon his pleaſure, but though they are to receive their greater vigour from him, yet are they not to be ſuſpended at pleaſure by him, for that which at firſt was intended by the kingdome: for an honourable way of ſubſiſtence and adminiſtration muſt not be wreſted contrary to the nature of this Polity, (which is a free and mixt Monarchy and not an abſolute) to its deſtruction and confuſion, ſo that in caſe the King in his perſon ſhould decline his duty, the King in his courts are bound to perſorme it, where his authority properly reſides, for if he refuſe that honour which the republicke by its fundamentall conſtitution hath conferred upon him, and will not put forth the acts of it, for the end it was given him, viz. for the iuſtice and ſafety of his people, this hinders not but that they who have as fundamentally reſerved a power of being ſwellbeing in their own handes by the concurrence of Parliamentary authority to the royall dignity, may thereby provide for their own ſubſiſtence, wherein is acted the Kings juridicall authority though his perſonall pleaſure be withheld, for his legall and juridicall power is included and ſuppoſed in the very being, and conſequently in the acts of Courts of iuſtice, whoſe being he may as well ſuſpend as their power of acting, for that without this is but a cypher, and therefore neither their being nor their acting ſo depend upon him, as not to be able to act and execute common iuſtice and protection without him, in caſe he deny to act with them, and yet both ſo depend upon him, as that he is bound both in duty and honour, by the conſtitution of this polity to act in them and they from him, ſo that (according to that axiome in law) the King can doe no wrong, becauſe his juridicall power and authority is allwayes to controle his perſonall miſcarriages.

Se Defendendo.

GOd and nature hath ordained Government for the preservation of the governed. This is a truth so undeniable, as that none will gainsay it, saving in practice, which therefore being taken for granted, it must needs follow that to what end Government was ordained, it must be maintained, for that it is not in the power of particular persons or communities of men to depart with selfe preservation by any covenant whatsoever, nor ought it to bee exacted by any superiours from their inferiours, either by oath or edict, because neither oathes nor statutes are obligatory further then they agree with the righteous Laws of God and nature; further then so, they ought neither to be made nor kept.

Let it be supposed then for argument sake, that the *Militia* of the Kingdom, is in the power of the King, yet now as the case stands it is lawfull for the Parliament to reassume it, because though they passed it into his hands, for the peoples preservation, yet it was never intended that by it he might compasse their destruction, contrary to the Lawes of nature; whereby every man, yea every thing is bound to preserve it selfe. And thus much in effect is confessed at unawares, by the Author of the Reply to the Answer of the London Petition: who affirmeth, saying, *The King is invested with the sole power of Training, Arraying, and Mustering*, and then gives the reason, *because it is most consonant to reason, as well as grounded on Law, That he which is bound to protect, should be able to compasse that end.* Which reason overthrows both his position and intention. 1. His position, for this is no reason why the sole power of the *Militia* should be in the hands of the King; *because he is bound to protect*, except he were bound solely to protect, that is, without the counsel and advice of Parliament: but it hath beene resolved that He is not sole judge of necessity, and therefore not sole protector against it, but together with His Parliament, who consequently shares in the power of the *Militia*. 2. It overthrows His intention, which is so to put the power of the *Militia* into the hands of the King, as to enable him to do what he will with it, whenas yet he himself cannot but affirm, it is his to protect withall, so that when he ceaseth to use it to its end, it ceaseth to be in his power, or else let the man speake plain, and say, it is His to destroy as well as to protect.

Ob. But the *Militia* is passed to the King, absolutely without any condition of revocation expressed, or of limitation to circumscribe the use whereunto it ought to be imployed.

1. *Ans.* Laws of God and nature, neither are nor need to be expressed in contracts

contracts or edicts, for they are ever supposed to be supreme to humane ordinances, and to chalenge obedience in the first place, and other Laws so far onely as they are consonant to them, though these Laws be further backed with Oathes and Protestations: As for instance, I give a man a sword, and sweare I will never take it from him; yet if he actually assault me, or it manifestly appeare he intends to cut my throat, or take my purse with it, I may lawfully possesse my selfe of it again if opportunity serve, because in such agreements betwixt man & man, the laws of nature neither are nor can be exempted, but are necessarily implyed, still to be of force, because no bonds can lawfully invalid them, and *id solum possumus quod jure possumus*. But it may be asked how it appeares that the King intends to imploy the *Militia* to the destruction of his people. Why first because He hath refused to hearken to the wholsome counsel of His Parliament, the representative body, and the highest Court and Counsell of the Kingdom. 2. Because, *è contrario*, he hearkens to the councels of notorious Papists and Maligunants, men engaged against the publike good and welfare of this Kingdome, in a diametrall opposition, so that if they perish it prospereth, and if it prosper they perish. 3. Because hee hath had a deepe hand in contriving and plotting the ruine and extirpation of the Parliament, by secret and open violence, and in them of the whole Kingdome of whom they are the Epitome, and as the King is the head, so they are the heart. But further it may be replied, that the King hath promised to maintain Parliaments and governe by Law. *Ans.* That is so far as he knowes his own heart, and as he can be master of himselfe: He sware the same at His Coronation, and promised as much when he granted the Petition of Right, but how they have beene kept God knowes, and we are not ignorant. It may be His Majesty may meane as he speakes, but 1. Temptations may change his minde, as it hath done too often, and as it did his that said to the Prophet, Is thy servant a dog that he should do such things? and yet did them. The welfare of Kingdomes is not to be founded upon bare spontaneous promises, but reall contracts. 2. He himselfe sayes, he himselfe is not skild in the Laws, and we have found it true, so that he must take information of them frō some body from his Parliament (that is his people that made them) he wil not, and are any fitter to be Judges of the Law, then the highest Court; if they may be Judges that are delinquents to the Law, and Malignants against it, and have beene grievous oppressors of the People, even against the known Laws (so much cried up) we are like to have just Judges and righteous Lawyers.

2. *Ans.* If the *Militia* be so absolutely the Kings, as that all power of

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defence and preservation of our selves and our rights be taken from us, to what purpose do we strive for liberty & property, and laws to confirm them? these are but imaginary things, if they have no hedg to fence them; If the *Militia* be for the King, let us burne the Statutes we have already, and save a labour of making more. No man would thinke it a good purchase to buy land, and when he hath paid his money to have it in the power of the seller, to take it from him by his sword.

Ob. It is true that Kings are tied by oath, and legall contracts, to governe by *Laws*, and to maintain liberty and property to their people, which puts them under an obligation of conscience to God, so that they are responsible to him for the breach of fidelity and duty, but not to the people who may minde them of their duty, but not compell them to it.

Ans. This Objection hath two parts, First, That Kings are onely responsible to God. 2. That Subjects must suffer wrong, but not by force maintain their right. To the first I answer. That if Kings be solely answerable to God, then contracts are in vaine, for they shall answer for all their arbitrary and unjust tyrannie over their people, though there were no contracts. That which makes us happier then other Nations, sure is not this, that the King for the breach of his duty hath more to answer at the day of judgement then other Kings have, if that bee all wee have small cause to joy in our priviledges, they are neither worth the blood that hath been shed for them, nor the money that hath beene paid for them. Secondly, Government must be considered under a twofold notion, divine and humane. The *Genus* which is government it selfe is divine, so that people are absolutely bound to have government, but not bound to have an absolute government, for the *species* or the *modus gubernandi* is humane, and therefore the Apostle sayes, *Be subject to every ordinance of man*, that is, to every such kinde of Government as your lot falls to be under, by the constitution of the Common-wealth you live in. Now Government being thus of a mixt natute, the Ordinance both of God and man, it is not onely subject to God but also to men, to be regulated, amended, and maintained by the people: for as it is Gods Ordinance for their good, so doth he give them liberty to provide it bee not abused to their hurt, so that when God shall put an opportunity into their hands, they ought to improve it to the setting of government up right, or the keeping of it so from apparent violations. There was a time when both Government and the manner of governing belonged to God, to wit, amongst the Israelites, for to that people he was both a God of moralls and politiks, and therefore he tooke it so ill for them to usurpe upon his right, as to desire to change their government from

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Judges to Kings, but this was a peculiar right he assumed over that particular people onely. To the second I answer thus. Every Subject taken *divisim*, and apart from the whole, is to suffer under abused authority, and to obey passively, rather then to breake union or cause confusion, but no Subject is bound to suffer by that which is not authority, as is the will of the Magistrate: If a Court of Justice should unjustly condemne a man, he is patiently to undergoe it, but if a Judge or the King himselfe should violently set upon him to kill him, he may defend himselfe; for the Ordinance of God and man both, is affixed to the office, and not unto the person, to the authority and not unto the will, so that the person acting out of office, and by his will may be resisted, though the ordinance may not. But the representative body of the Common-wealth, (which is all men conjunctim) they may not onely oppose the person and his will, but even the office and authority it selfe when abused, and are bound to it both in conscience to God when he gives them opportunity, and in discharging of their trust to them that imployed them. For first God calls to have the wicked removed from the Throne, and whom doth he call upon to doe it but upon the people (in case the King will not) or their trustees, for as he hath originally founded all authority in the people, so he expects a discharge of it from them for his glory, & the publike weale, which are the ends of Government, from which God and nature hath ordained it. Secondly, In discharge of their trust for the whole, for order sake, making them their representative actors, and putting that universall and popular authority, that is in the body of the people, and which (for the publike good and preservation) is above every man and all Laws, into their hands, they may expect and chalenge them by vertue of their Stewardship, to provide for their safety and well being, against whomsoever shall oppose it, no one being above all, and therefore ought not that universall power, which by way of trust is conveyed over to the Parliament, be betrayed into the hands of any by admitting or allowing any authority to be superiour, by tollerating abuses and usurpations, as if they had not power to regulate them.

FINIS.

The Master-piece of Round-heads, or an Explanation and Declaration of the right Round-heads indeed, And such as are and shall be the true Round-heads by all consent and Act of Parliament.

Written by a well-wisher to King, Parliament, Religion and State.

THERE hath beene a great noyse and rumour about the appellation and name of Round-heads: But it is not yet apparent, neither by Ancient or Moderne Writers, what these Round-heads should be, neither to what use or meanes this name or appellation is applyed, or on what it is bestowed or meant. If it be intended by the Author that first devised this name, that it should be attributed and construed to the plaine and right understanding of the word, as it is a primitive word, and literally,

Then it must be understood of all men as they have Round-heads, although some heads be rounder then others, as if a man have a round shoulder, he is called round shouldered, and if a man have a bottle-nose, he is called a bottlenose, and so likewise in all the like occasions, men may be termed by such names and appellations, and so in this construction, onely shee that first set forth this name of Round-head shall be so termed, and my self likewise will be thy brother Round-head. So likewise all men in Christendome are termed Christians, although some be good,

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good, and some bad, some of one opinion and some of another, some Papists, some Brownists, some Anabaptists, &c. yet all Brothers in Christ, now as in this sence all men may be termed by the name of Round-heads, it must not be understood and conceived that the Author did intend that all men should be so termed or reputed, but he had a further reach to attribute this name as a nickename, or a scandall to some particular persons, which opinion verily is by all or most men conceived, and not to the sense or construction of a primitive word onely, for that were nothing, but as may be understood of all men alike. Now then good brother Round-head, for so we are all in the primitive word, give me leave to expresse your understanding herein (if you have any understanding) and to unfold that which hath so long beene hid, and not unmasked, and that you and all the world shall confesse, who are the right Round-heads you meant in particular, for no doubt in the generall, it was intended by you as a by-blow and nickename of scandall to some particular kinde of persons, and those in all mens judgements must be meant of such as deserve scandall; for it is in charity conceived, that you would not apply scandall but upon such as deserved it, whether it be in some particular sinne, as Drunkennesse, Adultery, loose life, or erroneous in their Religion or Doctrine: or in some outward comportment, or ceremony, or the like, contrary to the civill and lawfull government of our Church, State and Kingdome.

Now then deare brother Round-head, I must seriously tell you that there are but two sorts of men in the world, the one good, the other bad; so Christians being men, are some good, some bad, so all men are Round-heads in the primitive sense, and so some good, some bad: now in charity it is granted that you meant not this nickname nor scandall against the good, howsoever the good may be abused by these names; now then to come nearer the matter, how many sorts of good men be there, and how many sorts of bad men be there? As for the good in this cause, they admit no division, and therefore we must leave them, as no part of our Discourse, because it will not be denied by the Authour himselfe, but that they were cleared of this nickname or scandall, and was never intended against them: Well then, it must be understood (as farre as we can gather) how many sorts of bad men there be, for they are not as the good are, but may be divided, and surely are alwayes divided, for they can never agree; and so to know against what sort of bad this name was intended. Now to come yet a little neare to my brother Round-heads meaning, let the bad be of as many sorts as can be thought of, for it were too much for one to remember them all. It is conceived that amongst all these

theſe bad ſorts of people in the world, he intended this nickname or ſcandall upon that ſort of bad that are contrary, oppoſite, or differing in Religion and ceremonies to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Now upon this point it muſt be knowne who, and how many ſorts of religions, Ceremonies and practiſes there be, which are contrary to the true and Orthodox Church of *England*; but becauſe there be ſo many ſorts, it will be too tedious to recite them all, and to tell you of the whole nine and twenty ſects of late ſet forth, but onely touch thoſe that are knowne to be the moſt enemies to the Church and State, as the Papiſts, the Browniſts, the Anabaptiſts, the Separatiſts, and a new Religion, and yet no Religion, called Cavalliers, which is lately ſprung up, *Jam nova progenies barathro ſublata ſub imo, Chara diaboli ſoboles* &c. They in ſome ſort would imitate the Apoſtles that were fiſhermen, for with theſe Cavalliers all is fiſh that come to their net. And yet to come a little nearer my brother Round-head, it muſt be knowne alſo which of theſe ſorts or ſects hee meant or intended by this nickname of Round-head. Now becauſe there lyes the hidden myſtery, this riddle was never diſſolved, nor none by him ever named, who or what particular ſect was the intended Round-head, therefore it muſt, ſhall, and can be not otherwiſe intended and meant, but that all ſects, as Papiſts, Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, Separatiſts, Cavalliers, and whatſoever elſe are not with, or any way againſt the true proteſtant Religion maintained by the King, Parliament and State of this Kingdome, are and ſhall be from henceforth deemed, reputed, and taken by the names and appellations of Round-heads, and ſhall be from henceforth ſo authorized to be named and reputed by Act of Parliament, and the aforeſaid honeſt Proteſtant to be cleared herein: and this no doubt was the true meaning and intention of the author, howſoever it hath beene miſapplyed many times by theſe aforeſaid Round-heads, to unload themſelves and caſt this aſperſion upon the true, honeſt, Religious, and Zealous Proteſtants, whom neither King, or Parliament, or good men could ever detect; and therefore, me thinkes, the Authour was not ſo wiſe neither (as God might have made him) for if he had he might have expreſt and ſet down every particular Round-head, with a ſeverall addition, whereby they might have beene the better knowne to the Kingdome, and done himſelfe much honour to cleare his meaning, in expreſſing himſelfe and his good will, in clearing thoſe good Proteſtants that were no wayes to be accompted amongſt that rable, as that rable would make them: as for example, the Papiſts in regard of this, many miſchievous Machiavile plots and conſpiracies againſt this State and Kingdome, as that of 88. and that of the Gunpowder Treaſon, with many other Machiavilian deviſes, continually practiſed againſt our

King, this present Parliament, and State, and therefore it had beene a very fit addition to have called them by the name of a Machiavile Round-head, so likewise the Brownists, because they Preach and teach at the backeside of *Brownes* Barne, from which name and Barne they had their denomination of their Religion, and therefore it had beene very well to have knowne them (as hereafter they shall be) by the name of a Browne Round-head. So likewise the Separatists and Anabaptists, they use to rebaptize in Rivers, and preach in Tubs, and other secret places, and such like odde devises, and therfore it is very proper to have them called by the name of Tub Round-heads. And so likewise these Cavalieres, whose Religion is so hidden and not knowne indeed to be any at all; and not to have any meanes of living, but *Ex damno alterius*, and these are those that sweare God dam'me, and therefore there can be no name or addition more proper to distinguish them from the other, then to call them dam'd Round-heads, and this is the dam'd Round-head indeed, *Projicit ampullas & sesquipedalia verba*, and it is most certaine, if they doe not amend their lives damnation will be their end, which God have mercy upon them, and give them repentance. These, and many more might be exprest, but that it were too tedious, I will name onely one sort more, which are as ill or worse then the rest, and these are the Pulpit men, Ministers, and perhaps there might be gleaned out some that taste of every sort of these before named Round-heads, but they shall goe with their followers. But here specially is meant those Pulpit men, that upon all occasions are of all Religions, that will drinke up iniquity as beasts drinke water, I meane the scandalous Ministers, *qui sunt Rebelles lumini*, that will professe with the good, but act with the bad, which are a shame and scandall to them that are good Ministers indeed, such as are Drunkards, Adulterers, contentious persons, mankillers, common Barrettors, like that Minister that had forty and odde Articles against him in Print, and like the two noted scandalous ministers in *Suffolke*, named *Thomas Fowles*, and *John Lowes*, the one found guilty of killing a man, the other Arraigned for witch-craft, and convicted for a common Barrettor, as appeares on Record, and as they are lively set forth in a Printed Booke called the *Magazine of Scandall*: these are the devillish crue, that are not onely bad themselves but infect others, and carry a brand and plague with them wheresoever they come, not onely by their insufficiency, diversity, and unconstancy of Doctrine, but also by their example of evill life and conversation, *quorum non solum vita, sed oratio est exterabilis*, and therefore they shall (as most proper to them) beare the name and brand of devillish Round-heads, and of these the Parliament have had notice of sufficient-

ly

ly, and have promised a course accordingly to purge the Church of them: Now brother Round-head, if you had taken this course to have given your distinction and addition in this kinde, you had not left a gap open for the disparagement of any other honest religious good Protestant Minister or Layman, as these Round-heads have taken advantage to doe, thinking thereby to cleare themselves of that imputation. But let it be granted that these Machiavell, Browne, Tub, Dam'd, devillish Round-heads, will apply this name of Round-head to an honest, good and zealous Protestant (as none else will) then it cannot be attributed to him, nor can he have any other addition then a good Round-head, for else we are cleane against our former ground, that all men (and so all Round-heads) are either good or bad, and good admits no division as before sufficiently is made manifest, but of bad you may see how many divisions there be, & as long as a Protestant be good as no doubt there is none good, but a true zealous Protestant, then let these aforesaid Macheavell Round, tub, dam'd, devillish Round-heads, call them what they will, they care not, neither was it ever taken to themselves, neither will any man of any reasonable judgement, ever thinke that it was the Authors meaning to attribute it to them, and let my brother Round-head cleare himselfe in this point, for if he meant otherwise then here is formerly expressed, he shall no longer be my Brother Round-head, in the simple and primitive construction and understanding of the word, as before is declared, but shall be adjudged and deemed for ever hereafter to be one of the other former right Round-heads indeed, and so amongst them shall be declared to be by Act of Parliament, as all Machiavell, browne, tub, dam'd and devillish Roundheads shall be. And although thou shouldest be such a Round-head as that thou shouldest meane otherwise then before is expressed, yet then thou must thinke that no honest, no wise man will judge or accompt thee to be either honest or wise in thy intentions, for who can deserve any nickname or scandall, but such as are against our true Religion, such as are disquieters of our publique peace, such as are evill Counsellors to King or State, such as will or would make division betwixt King and Parliament, or State, but for their owne ends.

And what are these but such or the like kinde of Round-heads, as before are manifested? I pray tell me unto whom should we attribute any nicke name or scandall but to such, who are the Round-heads now? Can any man speake the contrary? Can any man (I meane of the sober and honest sort) attribute any nicke name or scandall to honest and good men? yet some of these sorts of Round-heads have not beene ashamed to abuse the most Religious, well governed Protestants, yea some of the very

higheſt Court of Juſtice, from whence we have had, muſt, and ought to have our chiefeſt being both for our Religion, lives, and eſtates, or elſe we muſt periſh, and by whoſe daily unſpeakeable labours, doe endeavour to preſerve the Kings Majeſty, themſelves, and all good Subjects from that miſerable condition in which we are ready to fall into, by the meanes of thoſe Round-heads, if they doe not like good hearted Souldiers, perſevere in this good worke, and ſtand in the battle with an invincible conſtancy, againſt all oppoſition and corruption that can be, ſecretly, openly, or cunningly, projected, diviſed, imagined or intended againſt the Kings Majeſty, his Parliament, and body, and heart of this famous Kingdome, as hitherto they have done. Pleaſe his Majeſty, and the Parliament unanimouſly to conſent to roote out theſe forenamed Round-heads (as no doubt but they will:) O then our feares and rumours of warres will vaniſh as miſts againſt the morning Sunne.

O what a happy ſtate our Kingdome will be reduced unto! for then no doubt but his Majeſty as head, may be compared like the Sunne in the firmament with his body of ſo many ſtarres about him, yea ſo many millions of inferior ſtarres, as there be inferior Subjects in his three Kingdoms, will ſhine about him with joyfull hearts, and crying loud acclamations of Joy. What a wickedneſſe is it to thinke that the head ſhould be divided from the body, in which body we all know the heart lies? Oh the heart of the Subject is a preſervative and cordiall thing to a Prince, and ſo alſo the head being taken away, the heart dyes. O what a deviliſh damn'd tricke of the Devill was this, to bring or ſend ſuch Machevile dam'd Round-heads and incendiaries into the World, to worke ſuch an unheard of plot as (if they could) to divide the King and the Parliament! *O tempora, O mores!* And none but the devill and his agents and ſervants could ever have deviſed the like; but yet for all this the body and the heart will not be divided from their head, *invito diabolo*; they worke day and night without breathing or ſleeping to draw and obtaine their head unto them (*Vis unita fortior*) they will not be divided, they will endeavour to ſupport the King out of the hands of his ſecret enemies, and raiſe his Majeſties honour and ſtate, they will draw him with cords of love, and bands of love, howſoever the devill, and theſe forenamed Machevile dam'd Round-heads endeavour to overthrow both King and Kingdome, and weigh him like *Belſhazzer, qui inventus eſt minus habens*, but it is God hearing our prayers will caſt out all theſe devils from amongſt us, for by prayer it muſt be done, and theſe Round-heads his ſervants will not faile of themſelves, and then ſeeke a new Country, where they will get new footing, and perhaps may hope for new projections elſe where, if in the meane time

time the Gallowes or ſome other place of execution doe not ſtoppe them. Now to conclude that which is the matter treated of, that is the Declaration and ſettling of this name, of the Right Round-heads indeed, I moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty, and that moſt honourable body and heare of the Kingdome, to give their approbation and opinion in this affaire, and ſo to countenance the good, honeſt, zealous and true proteſtant, and to diſcharge them in your good opinions of this terme of Round-head (as no doubt you can doe no otherwiſe) and to lay and ſet it (as due of Right belonging) upon the afore named Round-heads, with their additions, as namely the Machevile Round-head, the Browne Round-head, the Tubb Round-head, the dam'd Round-head, and the devilliſh Round-head, theſe being the chiefe, yea the onely troublers and enemies to Religion, the King, State, and Kingdome, and to whom this appellation or terme was without all queſtion, firſt attributed and deſervedly intended, it being impoſſible that any good men ſhould deſerve any nickename or ſcandall, or that any man that could but write or reade Engliſh ſhould intend or caſt it upon any good man, much leſſe the Author thereof; and thus by your good countenance and approbation the Round-head may be thus known and diſtinguiſhed from honeſt men by Act of Parliament, that is, by conſent both of King and Parliament; which I being ſure not to be denyed, it is granted that they muſt for ever hereafter be ſo named, reputed, and taken. Now to ſet forth the watchfull wiſedomes, the laborious carefulneſſe, the continuall diligence, and unſpeakable bleſſings God hath given this Parliament to enable them to prevent all theſe plots and conſpiracies, whereby they have preſerved both the King, themſelves, and Kingdome; It were a folly yea a preſumption in me to endeavour to doe or ſay more therein, being impoſſible for me to doe: But thus much for concluſion, I am ſure I may, and can, and will ſay; God bleſſe the King, and his Parliament, and confound all thoſe aforeſaid Round-heads, or any other that wiſh any hurt either to King, Parliament, or Kingdome, or goe about to work any diviſion or ſeparation betwixt the King and the Parliament, or Subjects. And ſo I deſire all honeſt men to remember, and know who are the Right Round-heads indeed, and to ſhun them and all others that to this will not ſay, Amen.

TO Cavaliers, that hang in the briers, and ſo to every Juſt as,

Quidlibet audendi ſemper fuit æqua poteſtas.

They drinke and fight, from morne till night, but ſtill lodge where their

Laudandi ne quid cogitent tolerare laboris. (whore is,

Rob.

Rob and steale, & cut piecemeale, these Round-heads never stepe their
Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.
The battle spun, these Roundheads run, you must know where their flights
For, *Nocteſ atque dies patet atri janua Ditis.*
When spoyle they get, they cry more yet, but none will say, *Dolebo*;
But, *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, Acheronta movebo.*
They have open throats, Red Louſie Coates, I care not for their lice I,
Spectatum admiſſi riſum teneatis amici?
In zeale and heate, of love ſo great, with whores they pleaſe with
Hei mihi quod nullis amor eſt medicabilis herbis.
They plunder our food, and envy our good, and they live where none but
Invidus alterius rebus macreſcit opimis.
They have fiery ſwoords, and bluſtring words, and ſweare God damme ſir
Nam miranda canunt, ſed non credenda poetæ.
From death and harmes, yea without armes, our God from devils will
Dæmona non armis, ſed morte ſubegit Jeſus.
Without all grace, with ill looking face, which ſhew they will inſult you:
Hoc quam difficile eſt crimen non prodere vultu!
Theſe roaring dawes, will put downe Lawes, & turne things topſie turvy,
Argentum atque Aurum faciunt recliſſima curva.
Let theſe red-coats, pul out our throats, let's ſleepe till they have pluckt us:
Quas ego ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus.
Shal's fire them all, both great and ſmall, and thus ſeeke to decline theſe
Eſt modus in rebus, ſunt certi denique fines.
King and Cavaleers, Parliament and Peeres, the Kingdome do deplore ye:
Solamen miſeris Socios habuiſſe dolori.
They live on the larch, but neere goe to Church, prophaning with nice
Petere non templum, venerare nec omnipotenti.
The work ſhall be no mans, to make us al *Romans*, tis God that hids them
Tanta mali ſperet Ramanum condere gentem.
The great *French* pock, *Venere an* mocke, and rots come among us,
Cum multis aliis quæ nunc perſcribere longum.

FINIS.

23

The { Cause / Vse / Cure } Of Feare.

OR,

Strong Consolations

(*The Consolations of* God)

Cordiall at all times, but most comfortable now in these uncomfortable times, To fixe, quiet, and stablish the heart, though the earth shake, and make it stand stil, To see the salvation of The *Lord*.

Taken from GODS mouth, And

Penned by

HEZEKIAH WOODWARD,

That all His Servants may have assured confidence for ever.

PSAL. 56. 3,9.

What time I am afraid I will trust in Thee: When I cry unto Thee, Then shall mine enemies turne back: this I know, for God *is for me, He will save me,* because *I Trust in Him. Psal.* 37.40.

Nil terribile, nisi ipse timor.

fth: 25 LONDON, 1642

Printed for *Thomas Underhill*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in *Woodstreet*. 1643.

The VISE of FEAR.

OR,

STRONG CONSOLATION

(The Confolation of God)

Cordially administred, for moft comfortable

Practice

HEZEKIAH WOODWARD,

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, and are to be fold at the

To the Right

HONOVRABLE.

Isaac Pennington,

LORD MAJOR
Of the City of LONDON.

BY the Blessing of *God* upon this treatise (containing His own directions there) it can heale the heart and the hand *palsied* with feare: It will be no dishonour then to take it into your hand, and to lay these directions (if it can be) yet closer to your heart, whereby the City of God have been a *quiet habitation*, (a) when, as now, The *blast* of the *terrible ones* have made the earth to shake and tremble under us: And you now, with such as you, that *love, feare, trust* GOD, *doing* your *duty*, and maintaining your *watch*, doe maintayne PEACE, *and at such a time.* (a)

(a) Esay 33.20.

(a) Ezra. 4. 17.

Peace is good at all times, but ever best in the worst times, *perilous* and *feirce*, as are the times of Reformation, *troublous* evermore: when hands and * Tongues are bent to make the *City* of GOD MAGOR MISSABIB, *terrour on every side*: Then peace is good; Then cordialls

* Dan. 9. 28. Jer. 20. 3. 10.

alls are ſo indeed, ſtrong conſolations (they are the conſolations of God) *at ſuch a time*. Peace in and with the world is good, if it could be had upon good termes: But that is not poſſible. The world will love their own, And they ſhall have peace, ſuch as the world can give; They, who can comply with the world; can give out unto them the right hand of fellowſhip, to thruſt *Chriſt* from His Throne, and out of the world: theſe ſhall have peace, for they are the worlds *firſt born*, and right hands of the times, but you cannot do ſo. Such a peace, *peace* without *truth* is of vile eſteeme with you, you abhor it at ſuch a price, and upon ſuch termes as the world bids for it, and doth purchaſe the ſame. You *follow peace with all men*, and *Holyneſſe* (That is a point of the higheſt wiſdome) *without which no man ſhall ſee the* Lord: you *purſue* this *peace*, as others perſecute it: your zeale cannot boile higher then to their As, as they perſecute it. Purſue it ſo ſtill, and if you overtake it not, (for it flees from you (elſe you ſhould not need to *purſue* it) if you cannot eſtabliſh peace in the *City*; yet, in that you have done your *office*, you have *peace* in your ſoul, a *peace*, which *paſſeth all underſtanding*; for whatſoever things are *true* (d) are *honeſt*; are *juſt*; are *pure*; are *lovely*; are of *good report*, theſe things you have done, and will doe, you have aſſured confidence now in this which follows, *and the peace of* God *ſhall be with you*. What a good word is this, and at ſuch a time, when the Adverſary doth, as in all times he hath done (it is no new thing, when the *breaches* of Jeruſalems *walls* are making up) he ſends, and writes, and lies, and rayles, and blaſphemes, what doth he not, after his manner, *to make the work to ceaſe* (d). You know your charge concerning him, *Anſwer him not*; you look to the anſwer from a good conſcience, That, in zeale to your

(c) Heb. 12. 14. Aimarti.

(d) Phil. 4. 7. 8.

ver. 9.

(d) Nehe. 4. and 6.

* 2 King. 18. 36.

Lord,

Lord, The *Cities* peace and crown of rejoycing, you have done and ſpoken hitherto: And you are reſolved ſo to do ſtill, To ſtand up for *Chriſt* ſtill, To ſhoulder up His Throne ſtill; And you have made up your reckoning, you know what it will *coſt* you, poſſible as much as it hath coſt All His faithfull ſervants in all ages at *ſuch a time*; And having ſo wiſely counted your *Coſt*, you can *mock* at *feare*, and laugh at your Adverſaries, as the Lord doth, *ſeeing their day is comming* (*e*): for their rage riſeth high, and their riſing by ſteps that way, are but ſteps and degrees to utter deſtruction, which ſhall riſe as their rage doth, unto *heaven*, and be *lifted up, even to the ſkies*.* You cannot be deceived now, as, we thinke, good *Jeremiah* was; He *heard the defaming of many, fear was on every ſide*, and he heard a *cry*: nay he cryed out himſelfe, and ſaid, *Violence and ſpoile!* Then ſayes *Jeremy*, O Lord, Thou *haſt deceived me*, and I was *deceived*. He was indeed, but God did not deceive him; He had ſet up *Jeremiah*, and made him ſo ſtrong for Himſelf, and for *ſuch a time as that*, when the adverſaries deeds and words would be as hard as iron againſt the Truth and him; but *Jeremiah* ſhould be hard enough for them; The Adverſary might, to as good purpoſe, ſtrike his hand againſt a rock as ſtrike *Jeremiah*: ſhall iron *breake the Northern iron and ſteele?*

(*e*) Pſal. 37.

* Jer. 51. 9.

Jer. 20. 8. 10.

Jer. 15. 12.

No, no, the Adverſary was hard, and cruell, and violent againſt *Jeremiah*, but *God* made *Jeremiah* too hard for them all, as He will all His faithfull ones, (ſtanding up for Him) a *defenced City and a ſtrong braſen wall*: That was the promiſe to *Jeremiah*, and in him to all faithfull ones, many thouſand yeeres agoe, and you have the comfort, and your faſt ſtanding from it at this day; *The blaſt of the terrible ones, what can it doe?* It was

ver. 20.

answered long agoe; As much as a blast of winde against a brazen wall, so the *Spirit* slights what flesh can do against Him; (*a*) They shall fight against Thee (The Adversary will make an experiment, what mettal you are made of, so you must expect) but *they shall not prevaile against Thee*; There is the comfort, and it is yours, who wil stand up for God *and at such a time*. As your expectation from the World cannot deceive you (after the experiences of all the faithfull that have stood up for *God*) All hath been done against them, All shall be done against you, that *Angry Nations* can doe, *Atheists* and *Papists* swelled with wrath, and big with rage: So, nor wil The *Lord*, The *Hope* of *Israel* and Saviour thereof *in time of trouble*, He will not deceive you. Then you shall see your strength presently, that you are better bottomed then are the *perpetuall Hills*, and *everlasting Mountains*, a sight worth the beholding and at such a time. And because your work is now to read the times, not bookes; To get understanding in them, and what Israel ought to doe; and because you feele so many shocks and thrusts made against you to make you fall, no man more; I will make bold to draw out this Epistle (against my disposition and judgement) beyond its usuall proportion to persons of your ranke; That I may make known not to you but to the world of ungodly men, where your strength lyes. Then past all question it will be said, their *rock* is not as your *Rock*, the enemies themselves being Judges.

(*a*) Esay 25. 4. Jer. 1. 19.

I have by the assistance of the great Physitian written, I hope, from His Mouth, touching the *Cure of Fear*, your Lordship may have the marrow of it here.

First, You *magnify your Office*, contending for Christ against His enemies, who would shoulder Him out of

His

His Throne and out of His Kingdome; These enemies are in a rage, because you are a friend to Christ; they fight against you, and have faire hopes too, they shall take *revenge on you.* Let them hope till their day comes, when their flesh must consume away, *and their eyes in their holes*, and their *tongues in their mouth*, [c] you have the answer of a good conscience within: A GOD to go to, His promise to cleave to, which you find, in the place you were upon even now; *They shall not prevaile against thee*, for *I am with thee, saith the* LORD, *to deliver thee:* And not barely so, but a *Mighty* TERRIBLE *one:* There you may reade what follows, to your everlasting comfort, and confusion of your Adversaries. This answers all that can be said or done against you, all *hard words and ungodly deeds.*

[c] Zech. 14. 12.

Jer. 20. 11.

GOD *is with you*; All His attributes, power, wisdom, goodnesse shall be laid out for you, and for all like you, who lay out themselves, all they are and have for Him.

You have now, as All His faithfull servants have, written this downe in the Table of your heart. Now you may write what you will, for a *Legion*, now marching on against the *City of God*, you can *set down quickly* (before feare surpriseth the heart, for it hath sudden and violent motions) and write, *fifty*: what? *froggs, lice, flies.* So The Church despised her proud adversary, that terrible one, laughing him to scorne, regarding his huge Host, not so much as a legion of froggs, an armie of lice, or swarme of flies. These Egyptian, these Northerne Troops (the Armies of The *Lord* of *Hosts* have been a plague to the Ægyptians, and other Nations, as idolatrous as they, never so to a people with whom *God is a mighty terrible One*.

2 Kings 91. 23.

Cer-

Certain it is That he, who wil ſearch into the records of time, ſhall never read, that an Army of Papiſts, a People of *Gods curſe*, ever did the Church hurt: They have annoyed it, that is granted: For frogs, and lice, and flies in aboundance, can doe ſo, (& yet not ſo much unleſſe God pleaſeth, but if ſo, then) for the *Churches good*. Idolatrous Iſraell have pillaged Judah, and have taken away much ſpoile (ſometime the Lord made the Adverſary vomit it up again:) their rage has reached yet higher, but then their day haſteneth as now it doth, and they come down mightily, this alſo was for the Churches good. Indeed, and to contract; every thing, which we commonly call evill, nay, what properly is ſo, (ſinne it ſelfe) is for the good of thoſe with whom the LORD is, a God in covenant, our God. You ſee your ſtability now, your ſecurity, your exceeding comfort. It is good to looke upon it with all your eyes, well to conſider on it at ſuch a time as this, leſt you fainte in your minde, as a faithfull ſervant of the *Lord* did, *eying* his Adverſaries, and not obſerving his ſtanding, nor his ſtrength where it was, and then he ſpeakes unadviſedly with his lips. *c*

(c) Jer. 22.14.

Truly I thinke it my Duty, being upon ſuch a Subject, and at ſuch a time, to make ſome enlargement to my *Epiſtle* here, now that tongues and hands are ſo buſied to cauſe feare, which is ſo encroaching, you cannot keep it out with all your power, unleſſe you hold faſt ſtill-faſt to this *ſtrong hold, I will be with thee a mighty terrible One*, bleſſed be His name for that promiſe.

You ſhall heare your ſelfe charged as *Job*, perhaps by *Eliphas* a friend, and that, if you will obſerve it (4) you will think very ſtrange, and nothing *now* that is *new*. Your enemies, and they are many, all that are ene-

Joh. 22. 5, 6, &c.

mies

mies to Christ, they will for His sake defame you, speak all manner of evill against you, for they call you *by their owne names*. While they reproach *God* in you, you feele a *sword* in your bones: *b* But in reference to your selfe, and that good thing within you, *the soules pillow*, you goe away rejoycing, bearing the reproach, and, being at *peace* with *God*, no more moved then the Moone is at the barking of dogs. Behold her course, saith one, * the course of the Sun too, they run on like mighty Giants: such is the course of a *godly* man, he is for *God*, *God* is with him, he breaks through all difficulties in this way, as through *spiders webs*: he is above all, *hard words*, and *ungodly deeds*, riding upon the high places of the earth. *a*

Exulem me de suo nomine vocat. Cic. parad.
(*b*) Psal 42. 10
Recta conscientia calcitra animæ.
* *Chrysost.*

(*a*) Esay. 58. 14.

Againe, you shall see the earth smitten *terribly*, that her bloud may be discovered, and her Idols there given up to the *Moles* and to the *Bats*; you shall feele it shake under you, and the Kingdomes totter like a drunken man. All the while you shall *stand still*, *b* calme in your mind, beholding the *salvation of GOD*, for you stand up for Him, and He is *with you* as a *Mighty Terrible One*.

(*b*) Exod. 14. 13.

Againe, you shall heare of War, and the desolations that it causeth; Whether you shall live to heare that Gods *peace* is concluded on, and established in the land, I cannot tell, nor, perhaps, the best *Seer* in your City: But this I can tell you, because you have the Answer of a good conscience, and can tell your selfe, you *fear GOD*, and you stand for *Him*, and *He* is with you, a *God* in Covenant, and a *Mighty Terrible One*. That you, and all such as you, who follow *peace*, and *holinesse*, shall have *peace*, not as the world gives, but peace in *God*. Oh how sweet it is! and as sure, as it is sweet, in *God*; and yet sweeter yet at such a time, when the Kingdomes totter, the *gods* there are all starved, nay, when the heart-strings and eye-

ſtrings muſt break: O how ſweet is Peace then? ſweeter then honey was to *Jonathan*, when his ſoule fainted. This *peace* is yours, for you are *Chriſts*, and Chriſt is Gods, *Whoſe you are, and Whom you ſerve.* This *peace* is yours, and now it paſſeth all *underſtanding* indeed, when you ſhall heare the moſt comfortable word that ever was ſpoken, *Well done good and faithfull ſervant.*

This is the heritage of them that *feare* the Lord; hard words and ungodly deeds cannot diſcourage you now, for *God* is with you, there is your *ſecurity*[a]; you ſhal be with Him anon, there is your *happineſſe*; *for ever with the Lord*, you can comfort your ſelfe in theſe words.

Heare me with patience one word more, touching the ſucceſſe of the *great work* in hand, and the *ſecurity* of this great *City*, where the *Lord* hath made you a *Watchman*, and hath found you faithfull, which is your glory, but in The *Lord*. Surely, ſurely, the work ſhal proſper, for it is wrought by *God*; your *City* ſhall not be deſtroyed, for it is Gods *City*.

Surely a work carryed on with ſo many hands and hearts, ſo much life, and ſpirit, love, faith, patience, cannot be diſappointed of its end. And for the *City*[b], her filthineſſe is in her *skirts*[c], Ai and upon her forehead too: But yet a righteous people are there, and *Guiltie Hoſt*[d], and many ſuch as he: She is a refuge to the oppreſſed, a great Sanctuarie at this * time; and much good is found there: We doe not boaſt of her goodneſſe, but we boaſt in The *Lord*, Who hath inſtructed her to diſcretion, To ſtand up for Him and His Cauſe above all the Cities, that are or ever were in the world, *and at ſuch a time*. Surely the *Lord* will watch over her, & her Watchmen think ſo too, & pray for her night and day. And becauſe they be ſuch, as never ſought *God in vaine*, they are bold

a *Chriſtum eſſe tum Pavio ſumma ſecuritas: Paulum eſſe cum Chriſto ſumma fœlicitas.* 1 Theſ. 4. 17, 18.

b Where are manythouſands that cannot ſpeak, yet is their language very moving with their *Lord*. Jonah 4. 11.

c Lam. 1 9.

d Rom. 16. 23.

* *The day of Jacobs trouble.* Jer. 30. 7.

bold and confident, That The *Lord* will watch over this City for good, it ſhal ſtil be ſaid, The Lord *helpeth them*; The *North* ſhall give in unto them, the *ſouth* ſhal not keep back: the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* ſhall confer unto them the bleſſings of the Land and of the Sea. But this is the complement of all, *Salvations will God appoint for walls and Bulwarks.* I will conclude with the cloſe of a Pſalm, *Let mount Sion rejoyce, let the daughters of Judah be glad, becauſe of Thy judgements: walk about Sion, and go round about her, tell the towers thereof* (A goodly proſpect, and *at ſuch a time*) *Mark ye well her Bulwarks, conſider her palaces, that you may tell it to the generation following.* What ſhall they tell? or what is this ſtrength? wherein doth it conſiſt? or where is it? for it is not viſible. It follows, *For This* God *is our* God *for ever and ever: He will be our guide even unto death. Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael from everlaſting and to everlaſting.* Amen *and* Amen. Pſ. 48.11,12,13 Pſal. 41.13.

By way of Preface *to the* Reader.

I Need not tell thee what the times are, how hard, fierce, *and* perillous; *nor how we are diſtracted in them; ſo much thy very looks can tell me: The news, now a-dayes, is ſo legible, that he who runs may read it, and in moſt mens faces.*

There is a paſſion *now, quick and ſtirring within us, which may ſtand us in great ſtead at this time, as it may be ordered and pointed; if in a right way, and to the right object, nothing can doe us better ſervice to ſtay and ſtabliſh us: but if out of the way, and from that object, nothing works us more miſchiefe: nothing more unſettles us. It will betray all our ſuccour; it will ſhake us, as a leafe with the wind, and make us flee as a Roe before the hunter.*

It were ſeaſonable now to reade a Lecture upon this paſſion of feare, *not as a Philoſopher, but as a Chriſtian; I cannot ſay, ſo I have done; but I have beſtowed many ſad (yet quiet) thoughts upon its uncomfortable and unquiet motions; and here I have made them legible, That, though the adverſary doth all he can to make us afraid, yet he may not have his will ſo farre, as to make us afraid with* any amazement, *for we have made three Concluſions, are fixed thereupon, and reſolved to take the* Product *or* Reſult *therefrom,* That we will doe our Duty, *not diſquieting our ſelves about what The LORD will doe hereafter, or what our foes are doing now. The firſt Concluſion.*

1 Pet. 3. 6.

2 King. 9. 22.

1. *That things ſtand at as great a diſtance from an honourable* Peace, *as Iſrael ſtood when the* Witchcrafts *of their* mother Jezebel, *and her whoredomes were ſo many.*

If

If one man ſin againſt another, a third may take up the difference, and make an agreement betwixt them: [d] *The caſe is not ſo here; Man hath ſinned againſt* The Lord, *and we have provoked Him to His face by our Idolatries and bloud-ſhed: Man ſhall not determine this caſe, a caſe of bloud, and betwixt* God *and* Man. *There may be eſſayes and overtures that way, to* ſcab-over *the* matter, *but it cannot be; the wound is deep, much venome in the bottome, it hath layne feſtring there theſe by-paſt yeeres, three or foure, and now* The Lord *is ſearching into it, making* inquiſition for bloud: *and before He hath done (for that is His manner) He will find it out, and His* ſword *ſhall not reſt, till He hath* required *and avenged it: That is the firſt Concluſion. The adverſary makes a ſecond, That as*

[d] 1 Sam. 2.25.

1. *He hath done all he can by* fraud, *ſo he doth and will doe all he can by* force, *not to waſte and deſtroy onely, not to cut* Iſrael ſhort, *but cleane off from being a Nation: So the Adverſary hath concluded now. And now the Church makes a third Concluſion, and thereon ſhe will fixe, and be eſtabliſhed for ever.* 2. Pſal. 74.

3. *That* God *will make His Church a* cup *of* trembling *in the adverſaries hand, as a* burdenſome ſtone *upon his ſhoulders, as a* torch of fire *in a ſheafe, or amidſt ſtubble. The* Lord *doth open His* eyes upon *His* people; *He doth plead His owne cauſe. So the Church hath concluded.* 3. Zach. 12. 2. ver. 6.

I could ſet downe ſome Premiſes whence ſhe draws her Concluſion, but it is her LORDS *promiſe ſo; and that is enough, given long ſince, but written* for the generations to come. Pſal. 74. 22, 23.

The Reſult *from hence is,* That we do our duty, *as the Church doth, & not trouble our ſelves with unneceſſary quares,* what, how, *or* when God *will work: He works wonders every day, and let Him work as He pleaſeth, He will work all for good, and all in the fitteſt ſeaſon. Let us* doe our duty, *that is*

our work; work out our ſalvation; *& for the* ſalvation *of* Iſrael, *by all ſuch means, wherein* God, Nature, Grace, *have given us a capacity, and power of working. We muſt lye on our face in deep humiliation, while the* Joſhuahs *are ſearching the tents, that the accurſed thing may be caſt out, for ſo they have commanded us. We muſt doe for the cauſe of Chriſt,* as *the* ſpirituall *Lords, Devils, and men doe againſt Chriſt, to ſhoulder Him out of His throne: This is to doe our duty, to doe* As, &c. *and ſo doing, we doe our duty heartily, and* ſhall rejoyce in time to come; *that is very comfortable, as we read it, but there is more comfort in it then ſo, we ſhall* laugh at the time to come *a: Not care ſo much for the Army in the north, as their fore-fathers did for an Army of* frogs, lice, *& ſwarms of* flies; *nor for any other* mountain *in the way, for he ſhall be made a* plaine: *Wee have and will do our Duty; They that do ſo may laugh and ſing too.*

a Prov. 21. 25. *Ridet ad tempora ſequentia.*

But theſe are but words, the Lord *knows not the* ſpeech, *but the* power *of our* doing our duty. *And He put it into our hearts, and keep it there for ever. We can hardly ſet upon it, though we are ſet upon by the hand of violence, our gods are taken away from us, I mean that we dote upon, which quickned a man as dead in his body, as we in our ſpirits; For thus it was*

"*The Philiſtians knew no way to quicken him out of his* lethar-
"gy *but by gingling his baggs before him upon the table;*
"*then he awakened and ſtirred himſelfe up, for he would hold*
"*his bags, as long as he could hold his breath. This* god *is take from us, our liberty too, and that is our* god *alſo; Nay our* Lord Chriſt *is taking frō us, Who gives all to us, He is* God *indeed. Now or never we will bethink our ſelves, and lay out all we have & are to keepe Him, the* Life *of our* lives, *and* Soul *of our* ſouls, *we wil keepe Him. There is but this that can diſcourage us (and it is the greateſt encouragement in the world, if we can contend for Him) we may loſe our eſtates and lives too.*

Hor. li. 2. Ser. Satyr. 3.

That

That is true; All may be loſt, & moſt happily loſt in ſuch a contention; Nay it is not loſt, *it is* gained, *and the greateſt gain, for* He is worthy, *for Whoſe cauſe we do expend all this, if it be our deareſt blood, and all: He became* poor *for us, to make us* 2Cor. 8 9.
riche; nay, a Curſe *for us, to make us a* Bleſſing. *If we think of this, goods ſhal go and life too, and bleſſe God with all our hearts, that He put ſuch a* price *into our hand, to lay out our ſelves for Chriſt, to ſuffer for Him: Indeed it is as glorious a work as to* beleeve *in Him; we cannot do the one without the other, but ſuffering hath the preheminence, that no man may be diſmayed at his ſufferings, if called thereunto, and for Chriſt, for* unto you it *is given in the behalfe of Chriſt, not onely to beleeve on Him,* Philip. 1. 29.
but alſo to ſuffer for His ſake.

I have done prefacing, The Lord *give us underſtanding in the times, and what Iſrael ought to do.*

PROV. 29. 25.

The feare of man bringeth a ſnare: but who ſo putteth his truſt in The Lord, *ſhall be ſafe.*

IT *is ordered by the Committee of the House of Commons in Parliament concerning Printing, this* 22. *day of December* 1642. *that this booke Intituled* (The uſefulneſſe of Feare, &c.) *be printed.*

John White.

The { Just Cause / True Use / Soveraign Cure } Of Feare.

Sect. I.

The summe and scope of this Treatise; The kinds of Feare; The strange effects there-from; What the worst effect; What the great designe of the Adversary; How he prosecutes it; His advantage if he can effect it; His power and malice that way gives us just cause of feare.

Chap. I.

The Introduction to, and purpose of this Treatise.

OUr *Affections* doe us the greatest service, or disservice, that well can be imagined: and this they doe, as wee master them; or as they master us. If we master them, they are the *winds* of the soule, carrying it so as it is neither becalmed, that it moves not when it should; nor yet tossed, that it moves disorderly: If they master us, they raise storms there, and we are storm-like, sudden and violent, carryed as a ship in a tempest. If we master them, they are the very *wings* of the soule; A *Prayer without them*, (so we may say of any other performance) is like *a bird without wings*: (*a*) If I *cared for nothing*, (said *Melanchthon*) I should *pray for nothing*: (*b*) If they master us, they are the *clogs* of the soule; or if they be as *wings*, it is to make us flee away from *God*, and goodnesse; from our selves and Duty. Our Affections are the *springs* of all our services to God: we are dry, and cold, and dead without them; with them (well ordered) the soule is set on work, and then the work will

(*a*) *Oratio sine malis, avis sine alis.*
(*b*) *Si nihil curarem, nihil Orarem.*

will be done, when the heart is upon it: *David* had prepared much for the houſe of GOD, himſelfe gives the reaſon, *Becauſe I have ſet my* AFFECTION *to the houſe of my* GOD. (*c*) *Feare* puts on the ſoule almoſt as faſt as *Love* doth, that great Centurion, or puts it farther back: I cannot doe this and ſin; I muſt doe this, and why? *Becauſe I have ſet my* FEARE upon GOD; and *knowing the* TERROR *of the* LORD, (*d*) I *muſt perſwade men*. In a word, we are as a dead ſea without our affections; and as a raging ſea if they exceed the bounds: And no affection beats more ſtrongly upon the ſoule, (and more like waves againſt the banks) to exceed its juſt bounds, and get over, then *feare* doth: and when it hath got over, no affection ſooner drowns the Spirits, ſinks Reaſon, and ſo becomes a *Paſſion* indeed, vexatious and troubleſome: for where *feare* is (in exceſſe) there is *torment*. (*e*) This tormenting *Paſſion*, the ſtilling its unreaſonable motions, is the ſubject of my Diſcourſe now; but GODS work, To calme the Spirit, to make it *ſtand ſtill*, when the earth ſhakes, and the kingdomes *are moved*; I ſay, His work, Who *chid* the winds, and commanded the ſeas, and they obeyed *Him, and preſently there followed a great calme*. Feare, let alone to work its owne effects, (for like water it hath no bounds of its owne) is in the heart, as the tongue in the body, *kindleth a great fire* (*h*) *there* from every little matter, quickly raiſeth that little to a raging flame, which no man can quench, onely GOD can. And what way He commands and preſcribes us, (for we muſt keep to His preſcriptions, the ſame, which the *whole City* of GOD, All His People, have taken in all *troublous times* upward to this day) To reaſon with this unreaſonable Paſſion, To keep it within bounds of juſt moderation, is the maine intendment of this Treatiſe, wherein, but in paſſage only, I muſt make cleare proofe to them, who will be as are many now adayes, *willingly ignorant* That the Citties *feare* is *juſt* and Reaſonable; That all the Cauſes and reaſons both, which can be imagined, from within, and from without, commands the wiſeſt men to *feare*, yea commends them ſo fearing, for they are wiſe men, they can not be *afraid with any amazement*. But that I may begin in order, I muſt diſtinguiſh firſt,

(*c*) 1 Chr. 29. 3.

(*d*) 2 Cor. 5. 11.

(*e*) 1 John. 4. 18.

(*f*) Exod. 14. 13. *Ne commoveamini, nec fluctuet is animo.* Jun.

(*g*) *Terruacr.* Math. 8. 26.

(*h*) Jam. 3. 5.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

The Kindes of feare, The diſquietings therefrom, and ſharp effects; The worſt effect of all, is, It maketh a man chooſe ſinne rather then affliction.

1. There is a *feare*, which ſinks Reaſon, then raiſeth up unreaſonable motions, ſuch which make a man *feare where no feare is*; heare a noiſe meerly fancyed; flee, when none purſueth; ſo betrayeth the ſuccors *which reaſon offers.* (a) This *feare* made the *Syrians*, and others, infamous in the ſacred Writ, to fly, (b) &c. And the Papiſts, in their houre of Darkneſſe, and Saint *Maries* Church in* *Oxford*, To ſhelter their heads againſt the ſcalding lead, melted in the fornace of their own conceits, and guilty conſciences: for they heard a noiſe of fire onely, could ſee none, and yet they thought they ſhould be ſcalded to death with the droppings of lead melted in a fancyed fire of their owne imaginary. This is a *Panick* feare, a feare where there is no cauſe of fear; a *noiſe*, which God cauſeth the wicked to heare, His enemies and adverſaries to feele: the effects thereof, as we heard.

(a) Wiſdom. 17. 12.
(b) 2 Kings 7
* Act. and Mo pa 1102.

2. There is a naturall *feare*, which all partake of, that partake of the ſame common nature: Nay all creatures that have ſenſe, have ſenſe of *feare*, feare of ſuffering. It is naturall; The Beares will roare; Ravens Crye; Doves Chatter; Lambs Bleat; The Swine are troubled in a windy night, though I read of *Pyrrhos Hogge*, that eate his meate quietly in the ſhip almoſt covered with waves, while the Paſſengers there were almoſt dead with feare: And I have knowne ſome men, who ſeemed to have no other ſenſe, but that ſenſe of feeling, fearleſſe men; They feared nothing: But this *fearleſneſſe* was not from any cleanneſſe and ſerenity of mind; not from a true ſecurity and peace from within: but from a *dead palſie* rather, a *ſtupor*, a blockiſh ſtupidity upon their ſpirits.

3. There is a *feare*, which hath a ſtrong foundation in nature: ſo alſo muſt it needs have the ſame foundation in ſin: A corrupt, a ſinfull feare: And the more or leſſe ſin is maſtered and ſubdued

in us, ſo will this *feare* be; ſo quieted, or ſo diſquieting: And this all men partake of, and in meaſure, according to the proportion before mentioned. If *ſin* beare rule in us, *feare*, when it comes, will command in chiefe too, and be exceeding: *Weakneſſe* and *wickednesſe* are the very *eſſentialls*, whereof it doth conſiſt, the ſupporters of it; and when it exceeds its bounds, it becomes *a paſſion* indeed: We ſuffer much by it, and act or practiſe in it, I know not how, but as men forſaken of all, wit and reaſon both. It cauſeth ſtrange and ſtrong motions within, no paſſion ſtronger or ſtranger then *feare* doth. It is within us like foule weather upon the ſea; It no ſooner riſeth and getteth maſtery, but it cloudeth our *Heaven*, and fils the ſoule with thick miſts and ſmoak. The Apoſtle ſpeaks all in one word, *Where feare is, there is torment.* (*b*) It is the very *Rack* of the ſoule; it ſlayeth without a ſword: *Thy ſlaine men are not ſlaine with the ſword nor dead* (*c*) *in Battell.* How then were they ſlayn? with *feare*, that ſurpriſed them before the Battell, and did the part of an executioner before the ſword came.

(*b*) 1 John. 4. 18.

(*c*) Eſa. 22. 2. *Exanimantur metu.* Trem. A man that had his eyes covered to receive his death, and uncovered again that hee might read his pardon, was found ſtark dead upon the Scaffold. *Char. Chap. 16. Pa. 69.*

But that is not the worſt; *feare* can doe a worſe office to a man then ſlay him; It can put us cleane off from GOD and from *Duty*, and that is worſt of all. What baſe ſhifts will the ſoule uſe when feare poſſeſſeth her? Feare of mans wrath, feare of loſſe of goods, of good name, of liberty, of life, will put a man upon the loſſe of all we properly call *good*; upon ſtrange adventures, upon deviliſh projects; It will daſh his ſoule upon this rock and the other, till He hath ſplit himſelfe, and made *ſhipwrack* of *thoſe* ineſtimable treaſures, (which render a man rich in the loweſt eſtate, and ſecure in the greateſt danger) FAITH and a good CONSCIENCE: It will make a man ſeek for ſecurity from every thing, but where it ſhould: it will make him look to all means but one; in his diſtracting feare, he will not look to God, and an upright converſation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The deſigne of the wicked ever was and now is To make the Godly afraid: The advantage if they can effect it: Tongue and hand imployed about it: Their judgement from the Lord: Their pretence, and ſcarce that, for their works are manifeſt.

THis the wicked know very well, they have learnt it of their Fathers: therefore heare what they have deviſed anciently, to make the righteous *afraid.* When the breaches of *Ieruſalems* walls were making up, what was the great deſigne of the adverſary then? To *make the builders* AFRAID. We reade often The adverſaries ſent and wrote Letters, raiſed falſe reports, hired light fellows; All this they did, *That they might make the builders afraid.* Could they have effected it according to their minds, then the hands of the builders had been *weakned from the worke: it had not beene done.* (*d*) If you will do any thing for The LORD, keepe up your ſpirits, and keepe out *feare*, that infeebling Paſſion, which cuts a Mans ſinewes, renders him unfit for action. When the heart ſinks, then the hands hang downe, and the *work ceaſeth.* If *Nehemiah* had given way to baſe and cowardly feare, he had done ſo and ſo, and *ſinned.* Beſides, he had given matter for an evill report, *That the adverſary might reproach him.*

Neh. 6. ver. 13. (*d*) ver. 9. ver. 13.

Thus The Adverſary did anciently, So hee doth now, Hee takes the ſame way; his deſigne and end is the very ſame with theirs; ſtill Hee ſends, hee writes, hee raiſeth falſe reports, hee *hires* light fellowes (if there bee any lighter then himſelfe:) what tongue or hand can doe hee doth, *to cauſe terrour on every ſide*; Their *tongue walketh about the City*, and *all to diſquiet the inhabitants thereof.* What ſhall bee done unto thee thou deceitfull and miſchievous tongue? for thou loveſt all devouring words: I cannot make full anſwer to that, but I read; The *Lord ſhall deſtroy thee for ever, and pluck thee out of thy dwelling place*, and roote thee out of the land of the living: here is alſo a prayer put up againſt theſe tongues, theſe fiery flying ſerpents; *Let the miſcheife of their own lips cover them*; *let burning coals fall upon them*, The Church

Pſal. 42. 4. ver. 5. Pſal. 140. 9, 10.

ſeekes not her *God* in vain, ſhee makes account it is done.

The hand is more rough and violent, and put forth as farre as it could bee, to make both Citty and Country MAGOR-MISSABIB *feare on every ſide.* What ſhall bee done unto thee thou violent and bloody man? Man cannot anſwer that; blood purſues him; the Deſtroyer ſhall bee deſtroyed; God hath ſworne by His Holineſſe, *utter deſtruction ſhall come unto them*; Hee will UNDOE *all that afflict his people* (*a*) *Their fleſh ſhall conſume away while they ſtand upon their feete; and their eyes ſhall conſume away in their holes, and their tongues ſhall conſume away in their mouth*; (*b*) *This is the portion of them that hate His Church; they ſhall be utterly deſtroyed,* in the cloſe of this *work* (for there is a great work to be done upon mount Sion) and about the cloſe of the day they ſhall be utterly *undon.* But firſt they ſhall bee made a *terrour* to themſelves, and round about: As they thought to do to the Righteous, ſo it ſhall bee done to them: As they have determined, ſo it ſhall bee unto them, that ſhall bee their lot and portion of their cup from the Lord in his appointed Time.

Jer. 20 3.

(*a*) Zeph. 3. 19.

(*b*) Zeph. 14. 12.

But do wee not wrong theſe harmleſſe people, theſe innocent Lambs (ſome of them were in *ſheepes clothing*, and they would bee accounted *ſheepe* till their cloak fell off, and the wolfe appeared) what have they done, or ſpoken to make the City affraid? They will tell us, Nothing at all. "We doe but fancie "our feares; we heare a rumour, we ſcarce know of what, or "from whom, and we are afraid, we know not wherefore. We "conceit danger onely, as they, who took ſhadows for men: or "as thoſe, who, beholding at a diſtance, a field over-grown with "tall thiſtles, thought verily they had been ſo many ſpearmen. So the adverſary ſaith, and ſo ſay they too, who ſhould ſpeak as the *Oracles of* GOD, for they ſpeak from the Pulpit. And what ſaid they? As the Adverſary before them, "That there was no "cauſe of feare formerly, nor any cauſe now; A Phantaſme, a "conceited thing, a *Panick* feare the City is poſſeſſed with, "whereof they can give neither cauſe nor reaſon for, neither is "reall nor viſible. They have ſaid; and ſo they have *forced* themſelves, as *unjuſt* men doe. Now we wil take leave to conſider the matter, and their words, and give no more credit to them then we doe to ſuch men, who *know no ſhame.* (*a*)

Mal. 8. 15.

Judges 19. 36.

(*a*) Zeph. 3. 5.

Catho-

Catholique men, bloody Papiſts, (univerſally, all the world over) brawned in villanies, theſe fellowes, that hate the Lord, make Tumults, lift up the head, and yet *no ground of feare*, not any. The neighbours houſe is on fire, there the fire rageth, and the wind blows the flame directly hitherward; it began there, to end here; yet *no cauſe of feare*, That our common-houſe may ſmell of the ſmoak, or that it is time for every common man to look to his owne: No reaſon for that, none at all, ſpeaks the adverſary, but he is not ſo mad as to think any wiſe man beleeves him. The vile Prieſts and the Treacherous Prophets, that have polluted *the Sanctuary*, have *done violence to the Law*; (c) Theſe doe rage, and are ſwelled with malice: (c) Zeph. 3.4. The brutiſh people, almoſt as much, make tumults; and they that ſang forth their requeſts, roare like Beares, and are as fierce as the *ſhe-beares*, fearing their ſweet morſels may be taken from them, and their *ſervice ordered* according to *Rule*, and *yet no ground of feare*. The tumult of thoſe, that riſe up againſt The Lord, that would dethrone Him, encreaſeth continually, and *yet no cauſe of feare*. Indeed there is not; no cauſe we ſhould be afraid, when we look up to God, for it is the Tumult of thoſe that riſe up againſt *Him*, and *He* will look to *His* owne Cauſe and *Glory*, That ſhall receive no loſſe, no diminution at all, but advantage a great deale: But looking down to the Adverſary, there is cauſe we ſhould *feare*, after *a godly ſort*: ſo as to make proviſion againſt him, and then ſecure our ſelves and the cauſe in God. This *feare* is a *Godly feare:* The Godly mans *feare* is his humility, and caſting away of Pride; his reverent care to walk in the wayes of God: A *feare* which drives out ſecurity, not a feare which takes away the boldneſſe of faith. More of this anon. This here, that there is juſt cauſe of *feare*, but of ſuch a *feare* that hath been deſcribed unto us, which ſecureth the ſoule, the godly man, and his cauſe in *God*; And great need of ſuch a feare, for whatever the Adverſary ſaith, no man that hath his eyes in his head will beleeve him; though his words were as ſoft as butter: and his deeds as ſmooth as oyle: much leſſe now, when his words are as drawn ſwords, violence is in his hands, & war in his heart. The Adverſary is ſo mad with rage now, That he caſteth fire-brands, arrows and death, and cannot deceive his neighbour Pro. 16.18.

now

ver. 25. now, ſaying, *Am not I in ſport?* No ſure, no man is ſo ſenſleſſe as to beleeve that; for when he ſeemed to ſpeak faire, we beleeved him not, *knowing there were ſeven abominations in his heart:* Hee that hateth, may diſſemble for a time, and lay up deceit within him; for words, which are wounds, and lying lips and a wicked heart may be like a *potſheard covered with ſilver droſſe* for a time. But now his hatred (as active as fire) cannot be covered by *deceit*, his wickedneſſe is ſhewne *before the whole congregation.*

Theſe are Generalls; That I may be more particular, I will quarter out this *Legion*, the Adverſary I meane, for *he is many*, and behold him as a man of War, in his *Ranks* and *Poſtures:* doubtleſſe, if we ſo behold him, and can look no higher, he will ſeem terrible, as an Army with banners; or rather, as *Goliah* before the *Iſraelites*; I ſaid not, *before David*, for *he laughed him to ſcorne*, and *deſpiſed him*: but this I may ſay truly, juſt cauſe we have to be *afraid*, for conſider the Churches enemies, *how many they are.*

Chap. IV.

Without number for multitude. 2. Without reaſon for rage and cruelty. 3. Boundleſſe in malice, miſchievous in projecting, and watchfull in executing thereof.

1. HOw many adverſaries hath the Church? It were well with the Church if ſhe could number her enemies, tell how many adverſaries ſhe hath: We ſay, They are but a few, that can be numbred. The Shepherd can tell his ſheep, but hee cannot tell how many Wolves, nor Foxes there be: nor how many dogs, which doe their office the contrary way, hurrying the ſheep, and are as bloody as the wolfe or foxe, every whit. The Church can ſay, They are, as in former dayes, *encreaſed that trouble me*; *Many Bulls have compaſſed me, ſtrong Bulls of Baſhan have beſet me round. They gaped upon me with their mouthes, as a ravening and roaring lyon.* (c) She hath heard *the ſlander of many, feare was on every ſide. While they took counſell together againſt me,*

Pſal. 3. 1.
Pſal. 22. 12. 13.
(c) Pſal. 31. 13.

me, they deviſed to take away my life. The Church can onely anſwer, MANY, *Many are my Adverſaries*, many my perſecutors; Many, that fight *againſt my ſoule, becauſe I ſeek the thing that good is.* All the luke-warm Proteſtants, theſe are not a few; and they are againſt the Church, for they are not with her: All the *light* Prophets, and *Treacherous* Prieſts, Theſe are exceeding many, and their rage is exceeding, as is their zeale to their eaſe, and filthy lucre, to their pleaſure alſo boyled up to the height: All the Devils in hell, and both their hands on earth, right and left, Pope and Popelings, with the Atheiſts too, theſe ſwarm every where, ſuch multitudes there are. But thanks be to God, wee know where they ſettle, and fixe, though a gadding company, yet we know where they are *folden together as thornes*; and if their bodies are not there, yet their hearts are, joyned all together from all the quarters of the world. And now we can give a gueſſe how many they be, that band themſelves againſt the Church, as *the* ſands by the *Sea-ſhore for multitude*: and then it follows, That we may have juſt cauſe of feare, In the ſecond place conſider we their

Pſal. 119. 157.

Nah. 1. 10.

2. Cruelty. The dark places of the earth are full of it, where the light of the Goſpel comes not, is thruſt out, or deſpiſed. Their *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*, their Laws, the beſt things with them are as the bloud of a dead man. What are their manners then? Bloody ſure. Theſe ſons and daughters of men, ſtand upon everlaſting record, To be the moſt bloody enemies that ever the Church met withall in this world: They are free of the Corporation of the Malignant Church, and have purchaſed their freedome there: How? and at what rate? By Maſſacres, outrages and villanies of all ſorts and ſizes. If any of the company are not ſo cruell by nature, yet they muſt be ſo by command, and warranted to be ſo, by Law. They may and *muſt purſue their brother with the ſword, and caſt off all pity: Their rage muſt teare perpetually, they muſt keep their wrath for ever.* Keep wrath for ever? Yes, for ever; for though they are but Mortall enemies, yet doth their enmity mannage an immortall hatred againſt the righteous; for they purſued *him to death*; and when he had got into his ſtrong-hold, the *grave*, there they troubled him, that they did.

Amos 1. 11.

They have executed their rage and malice againſt the *Sanctuaries of the dead*, the *Graves*, the place where *Iob* was confident
Iob 3.17. he *ſhould lye at reſt*: even thither, to their *Sanctuaries*, the hand of the *oppreſſour reached*; There the wicked did not ceaſe to trouble the bones, and ſacred aſhes of the Martyrs; there, at that *Sanctuary*, the dead were not free from the oppreſſours, *his anger did teare perpetually, he did keepe his wrath for ever*. They have been cruell to the living and to the dead, and ſo are they to this day. Hiſtories Ancient and Modern, a cloud of witneſſes would croud in here to give evidence to what was laſt ſaid; but it needs not, all the world is fully ſatisfied in that point, for in alluſion to that which the learned Knight ſaith touching *Henry the eight of England*, I may ſay touching the Papiſts; If all their Hiſtories were loſt; if all the maſſacres, outrages, villanies of theſe mercileſſe men were forgot and quite out of mind, they might be renewed and deſcribed forth to their life, out of theſe three yeares ſtory concerning their practice in *Ireland*, where they have ſlaine their
2 Chron. 28.9. brethren with a rage that *reacheth up to heaven*. They have made that Countrey a Land of wrath, a field of bloud at this day. So they would make this Land alſo, that is their *deſigne*, we ſhall come to that preſently, for I will ſpend no more time, nor blot any more paper in making knowne how cruell they are, how they breathe forth threatnings, and how exceeding mad with rage: Papiſts are the executioners of wrath, we need not then adde, *They are grievous as wolves, and fierce as ſhe-beares*: their Natures ſuch, their Laws ſuch: their words and deeds, how hard and ungodly they are, all the Chriſtian world, the heathen people alſo, all know and feele. Obſerve we then,

3. The Adverſaries Deſigne; how miſchievous and Diveliſh!
(a) Pſal. 83. the ſame which wee read of, (a) or as *Hamans* was, not *to cut*
(b) Eſther 3.6 *Iſrael ſhort*, but cleane off from being a Nation: (b) And his heart is bent upon this Deſigne, now, Now he moves every ſtone, as the Proverbe is; now they put ſhoulder to ſhoulder, *heaving* at the Church, to remoove and ſhoulder her downe. Why now? Becauſe hee had brought the Church once and againe to the *brow*
Luke 4.26. of the *hill*, but, as her Lord before her, ſhe paſſed through the midſt of them, ſhee knowes not how, and went her way; This admirable Reſcue enrageth the adverſary; Now hee hath them in the open

open feild, hee ſayes, as their fore fathers, *I will purſue, I will overtake, I will devide the ſpoile, my luſt ſhall bee ſatisfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them* (c) But ſee the Adverſaries COLOURS, under which hee marcheth, I meane his *pretences*, for though hee purſues the enemy with open face, yet hee puts a vizor over it, and that makes the *face* more ugly: it putts an *accent* upon the deſigne, making it above meaſure horrid, ſinfull and abominable. The Adverſary fights (I take him ſingle though hee bee *many*) againſt *God*, under a pretence of being for *Him*: he fights againſt the life and ſoul of our lives; he ſheds innocent *blood to his Power*; hee treads the Righteous as mire in the ſtreets: doth what hee can to lay the *Glory* in the duſt, and all this he doth under a *colour* (but blood hath quite waſhed off the varniſh) of Advancing Religion and the glory: he hath engaged himſelf to ſubject our conſciences, our laws, our liberties, our eſtates, to a perpetuall ſlavery: but obſerve the *manner* how he proſecutes all this, for there is the abomination, pretending *liberty* to conſcience; eſtabliſhment to lawes; property in our goods; & a free enjoyment of all unto us, as to free men. Never was there ſuch a thing as this heard of ſince man was upon the earth: nor was there ever an Hypocriſie ſo pellucide, ſo tranſparent, that every child laughs at it, ſees through it, as through the cleareſt glaſſe. But The LORD ſees it, Hee beholds iniquity and wrong, and hath taken it into His owne hand to *Requite* it: which ſpeaks comfort to the Righteous, as it ſhould terrors to the ungodly.

(c) Exod. 15. 9.

γυμνῇ κεφαλῇ.

Now we will look over the *Premiſes*, and conclude, The Adverſary is a Legion, and more, without number for multitudes; without Reaſon for rage and cruelty: Boundleſſe in their malice, bloody deſigns, and miſchievous Projects: reſtleſſe continually, watching thereunto (that I ſhould have added) for their ſleepe is *taken away unleſſe* they cauſe *ſome to fall*. Prov. 4. 16.

We conclude: There is juſt cauſe of a juſt feare, which makes the city ſtand upon their Watch-Tower, gird on their Armour, and, when they have done all, ſtand faſt in the *faith*. To maintain it, and a good *conſcience*, To do this with all their ſtrength, and To do it continually, praying and watching thereunto: As Rome ſaid once touching her Adverſary *Carthage*; *ſhee*

would never forbeare to watch againſt Carthage, till they ſaw that City quite demoliſhed and laid even with the ground: So this City will never forbeare to keepe *watch* and *ward* and her ſelf in a Poſture of Defence againſt *Rome* now, and her *vaſſals*, till ſhe ſees them, as the *Iſraelites* ſaw the *Egyptians*, dead before her upon the ſands.

This City ſtands as much engaged to *Watch* and *Pray* too, (ſo they gird up their loynes) as *David* did, when *Saul* purſued him, for The City may ſay as David did at that time, *my* Pſal.57.4. ſoul *is among Lions; I lye even among* them, *that are ſet on fire*, even the *Sonnes of men, whoſe Teeth are ſpeares and arrowes and their tongue a ſharpe Sword*: fiery Adverſaries, *who ſent* and *watched the houſe to kill him.* It was even ſo with the City as (*d*) Pſal.59 wee read in the title of the (*d*) Pſalme: Oh! great Reaſon of *feare*! I mean ſuch a *feare*, as puts a man upon Duty, To pray and watch too. Why? The Adverſary, as wee may remember, did, when time was, watch and guard his *Croſſe*, that Abominable *pile of images*, ſtocks and ſtones, ſuch deſpicable things: much more will the wiſe in heart, in tender compaſſion to their lives, and juſt liberties, keepe watch night and day over themſelves, and this great City, where are ſo many thouſand perſons, that cannot diſcerne betweene their Right hand and *their* Left, *and alſo* much *Cattel*. And ſo (Bleſſed bee God) they can ſanctify The *Lord God in their hearts*, and are *ready alwayes to give an anſwer to every man, that asketh them a Reaſon of their feare*, and *hope* alſo, that is in *them, with meekneſſe*. So wee have ſeen a juſt account given of our *feare*, how juſt it is, no Phancied thing, but Reall and viſible: wee will ſee now what uſe God makes of this affection, in the hearts of the Righteous. And indeed it is very notable to obſerve the wiſdom of *God* in planting His People there, where they muſt look for diſquietings; And in Implanting in them ſuch an affection as *feare* is; When wee have obſerved this, then I ſhall ſet downe the meanes how the Righteous have had power, and been able to command over their feares, deporting themſelves calmly in ſuch ſhaking times: And this will make much for the ſetling our minds in our diſquietments, and ſo I ſhall bring it downe and make it uſefull for the preſent time.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The wiſdome of God in planting His Church in the world, not the place of their reſt: And in implanting in them, This Affection of Feare; The True uſe thereof; The advantage His people get by it.

CHAP. I.

This world no paradiſe: The Church expects her heaven above, her Purgatory here: It is her Lords pleaſure ſo, and ſhe is content, and thankefull.

SEE what a place the Church lives in! where ſhe hath no *reſt*, nor muſt look for any. They who were diſquieted yeſterday, muſt look to be diſquieted againe: They that ſuffered, muſt ſuffer, and perhaps unto bloud. Laſt yeeres were vexatious and troublous; ſo are theſe: the next following may be worſe: If better, The Church will be very thankfull: if much more troublous, The Church hath counted the coſt, ſhe cannot be deceived, but ſhe can be very thankfull too. We ſee the Changes and Turnings in the world: They, who ſate at reſt as we doe, two yeares agoe, They ſit as a widow now: at five a clock all was peace, (for ſo I heard a Miniſter of their owne ſay) and before ſixe, behold War, and the terrours thereof on every ſide. This world now anſwers to the Iſraelites Wilderneſſe once, variety of feares and troubles here. Our life is as a Checquer work, interwoven with black and white, here *Good*, there *Evill*, but the Evill takes up the greateſt part: Bleſſed be *God*, that it is ſo, elſe even His owne People would be much in love with the place, where their Reſt is not; They would build Tabernacles here, never think of removing hence. If the cloud of feare and diſcontent did not ſometimes overſhadow them; if there were not unſetled times, we would ſettle on our lees; if there were not *a want*,

when we are at the fulleſt, we would be ſo full of earth, that there would be no roome for heaven; If we had no feare, we ſhould have no Care; But we are ſtill in feare, for ſomething is ſtill wanting, and we feare and are troubled leſt that want ſhould not be ſupplyed: That want is ſupplyed, and then wee are in more feare then before, leſt we come to be at a loſſe again. To explaine this: We have a full eſtate, and health is wanting; we have plenty of all things, and health withall, but now the feare is, That the ſpoiler may come, *men skilfull to deſtroy*, and take away all, *goods*, *life*, and all. But ſuppoſe now we could be ſecure, That none of this could happen to us; our eſtates could be ſecured to us, and our health too, ſuppoſe it ſo, for we may ſuppoſe impoſſible things: then *Abrahams* (*a*) *feare* troubles us, we *have not a child to inherit*: and then, WHAT *is all our fulneſſe unto us?* We make but a [*What*] of all the reſt of our enjoyments, becauſe a child is wanting, for ſo that good man did, though *God* be there as a *portion*: Then A child is given us, but what a feare there is leſt the child be taken away againe? why then, if we would keep him, we muſt ſacrifice him. That is true, but that is a *death* too; we cannot think of the withering of that *Gourd*, (ſuch a thing as that was, a child, is quickly withered) and ſo the *goord* withers, and we dye: That we *feare* is come upon us; It grows up as a flower, and is cut downe like the graſſe. And all this That *Gods* people may not fixe and faſten upon ſuch reeds, which, if you leane and beare upon, they break and pierce too: And yet we will leane upon them, we will be *very glad* of our *gourds*; then The LORD knaps them aſunder, withers them, and then we are troubled exceedingly.

(*a*) Gen. 15. 2.

Jonah 4. 6.

In the laſt place, ſuppoſe we have health, and wealth, and peace withall, and children round about our table, yet there is a *feare* That we may be taken away in the midſt of all our fulneſſe. What is our life? We know what the Apoſtle anſwers, and every day ſaith as much, *It appeareth for a little time, & then vaniſheth away.* A man is well to day, and dead to morrow, and this feare (if there be not a hand over it to ſubdue it) *holds us in bondage all our life time.*

James 4. 14.

Heb. 2. 15.

But Bleſſed be God, ſo He unbottomes His People, drawing the heart to Himſelfe. If it were not for theſe feares, Faith would

would have no maſtery: but ſo it is, we are in ſuch feares often, and that is almoſt to be in *death* as often: ſo in this our wilderneſſe, and *God* beareth with our *manners here*; weaneth His people from drawing ſo hard at the breaſts of the world: Aſſureth them, This is not the place of their reſt, but there remaineth a Reſt to His people, which ſhall laſt as long as Eternity is long, for ever. Therefore they may beare patiently their diſquietings, their changes here below, for a moment, a little, a ſmall (*c*) moment, quickly over, and then they ſhall *ſee evill no more.* (*d*) Shortly they ſhall be above in the heaven of Heavens, where all is peace for evermore. And their diſquietments and fears make them work more ſtrongly after this place now: ſo *God* makes all work for their good, whereof in the cloſe This here muſt be conſidered, even

Acts 13.18. ἐτροποφόρησεν αὐτοὺς.

(*c*) Eſay 26.20 54.7.

(*d*) Zeph. 3.15.

Chap. II.

The wiſdom of God in planting this affection of feare in His People.

BLeſſed be God, wee are in feares, often it is beſt for us ſo to be; wee ſhould ſurfeit every day of our ſweets, if the feare of looſing them did not allay the luſtiouſneſſe of the ſame: wee ſhould bottome our ſelves too ſtrongly upon our mountaine, if wee were Confident (wee are too confident) it cannot be removed. Dayly experience tells us ſo much therein, That wee cannot ſtand feareleſſe upon the ſtrongeſt and beſt bottomed comfort, that hath its bottome upon the earth. And Bleſſed bee God for all this, even for this affection of feare: So alſo, and that The Lord hath put a vanity and vexation into the Creature, and frares many; feare make us all pull up our feet, and walke more warily; feare feeds us with food Convenient: So it clothes us: feare is our watch keeper: It is the moſt wakeing affection, moſt ſerviceable of any, if it doth Its office. It is the houſe-porter, the bodies *Spiall*: and the ſoules too, ſtill keeping watch: It is, next to *love*, the moſt Commanding affection: our keeper, and Truths keeper alſo; It is the beſt King in the world, (the great or little) for it keeps both *tables*. I ſhould ſpeake more of it, but I find

Pag.162,163. find my ſelf prevented here in a Booke called *The Childs portion*, whereto I would referr the Reader, if pleaſe him, I would rather ſpeake ſomewhat more touching the uſefulneſſe of this affection, God ſanctifying the ſame.

It makes the people of God to put no confidence at all in the fleſh: I meane by [*Fleſh*] All things under the moone: They cannot *feare* now the changes of things here below, and vexation from them, for they have been ſo uſed to it, That, which they feared from the creature ſo often came upon them, That now they expect no ſtability in the creature at all, but changes, and troubles, and vexations from it evermore. They *can now ſuffer the ſpoiling of their goods with joy*. They did indeed put ſome confidence in ſuch things, They thought ſuch things to be a HIGH Prov.18.11. WALL, (*a*) but it was (and they ſee it now to be) a meere conceit onely, and no more. They know now, and they are *fearleſſe* about it, That the theefe and the robber breaks in upon theſe treaſures every day; therefore it is not their *treaſure*, they account not of it ſo: they have laid up their *treaſure* in a ſafe place, where they *feare* not the thiefe nor the moath, and it is well they are ſo well inſtructed to diſcretion.

I remember a Story worth the noting, of *Paulinus*, *Biſhop* of Aug.de civ.Dei lib.1.c.10. *Voluntate pauperrimus & copioſiſſime ſanctus.* *Nola*: he had abundance of wealth, but no affection to it; bags full, and coffers full, but his heart was not ſet upon that *fulneſſe*, but on a better *treaſure*, and full of the ſame. It was well for him that he had a *Treaſure*, which Man could not give, nor take away: For, though he was a very rich man but as yeſterday, yet was he ſtript of all preſently, and as poore as *Iob*. The *Goths*, a barbarous people, almoſt as any we can ſee or heare of, brake into that City *Nola*, like ſo many Devils, and did *flee upon the prey*, flee preſently upon all the Biſhop had in this world, and took it into their poſſeſſion, and the Biſhop priſoner alſo. Now mark his Prayer, for that was all the refuge he had now, being in the hands of Robbers: LORD GOD, *Let me not be greatly troubled for my ſilver and gold: Thou knoweſt*, Lord, *it is not my* Treaſure, *That is laid up according to Thy Commands, Who didſt tell us long before, That this would happen, Theſe barbarous people would break in upon us for our ſinnes: therefore*, Lord, *I was warned, and laid up my Treaſure, as Thou haſt charged me, and as Thou knoweſt*. What a

Cum ab eis teneretur, ſic in corde ſuo, ut ab eo poſtea cognovimus, precabatur: Domine, non excrucier propter aurum & argentum: ubi enim ſunt omnia mea tu ſcis. ibid.&c.

wiſe

wise man was this! Truly all his neighbours counted him so; for though they were not so wise before-hand, yet now they had learnt by sad experience, (*c*) (an after-wisdome, that comes too late) That so they should have done too; They should have laid up their Treasure where their Teacher did, and charged his people so to doe. For mark how it hapned to those after-wits, They counted the wedge of gold their *Treasure*, and all their care and feare was To secure that, so they hid it in the ground. The Robbers came, they knew there was silver and gold both, and they would have it, and by torments the enemy forced the distressed Captives, To tell where they had hid their treasure. Nay the Adversaries cruelty was such, That they tormented some poore wretches, that had neither silver nor gold, upon supposition that they had both, and dissembled the having of it. Other some, the richest men amongst them, were so hardy, That they would die upon the rack rather then discover where their gold was; and so they were admonished (saith the Author) *by suffering such things, rather then betray their gold*, WHAT THEY SHOULD HAVE SUFFERED FOR CHRIST. Other some againe, the fewest of them, could not be forced to betray their Treasure, or forgoe the same, for, indeed, they had not laid it up on earth, but in heaven, where Robbers could not break-in, and steale: So well they had profited by their *feare* about such uncertaine things, that now they were not carefull about them at all. They could take *joyfully the spoiling of such goods*, knowing in themselves, That *they had in heaven a better and enduring substance*. And so the *Father* concludes, *No man kept his gold but by denying it*: that is, by taking off his *love* and *feare* from it: and no man kept *Christ*, but by *confessing him*, (that is) by giving up his *love* and *feare* unto him.

(*c*) *Si non prædente sapientia certe consequente experientia didicerunt.*

Si autem torqueri quam aurum prodere maluerunt admonendi erant, qui tanta patiebantur pro auro, quanta essent sustinenda pro Christo. ibid. &c.

Heb. 10. 34.

In ea tormenta nemo Christum confitendo amisit: nemo aurum nisi negando servavit.

2. It is so with and about their children too; Their discreet *feare* hath taught them, not to be carefull about children neither: The *Lord* gave them, He may take them; They can blesse His *Name* in all: They did not set their *hope*, nor their *hearts* on such perishing things, and then, when *God* takes them away, their *hope* is where it was, and *heart* also, even in heaven, where their *Love*, and JOY, and TREASURE is: And they can submit to their FATHER in heaven; It is *Hee*, The LORD, He hath done

it, and they are ſilent; It is His will ſo, thereto they reſolve all, and there they reſt, ſaying, *The will of the* LORD *be done.* So their feare (the Lord ſanctifying it) hath taught them touching their Children.

3. They have brought their hearts to the ſame point touching their *life* alſo; that is a precious thing: skin after skin, a man will part withall to ſave his life: And yet, they are not now *fearfull* about it; it is of ſmall continuance here below: and, while it doth continue here, it is full of changes and ſorrows. They are the leſſe carefull about it. They that have been moſt afraid, and ſo would ſave their life, have ſooner loſt it, and upon the greateſt diſadvantage. They, who have *loved their life more then Chriſt*, Who is the life of their life, have loſt their life, and Him too: and They that have *hated* their *life* in this world for *His* ſake, have made no account of it in reference to *Chriſt*, and their love to Him, have *kept it unto eternall life.* (*c*) That is the *life* they think upon, of being BLESSED FOR EVER; That is a *life* indeed. This here, in compariſon, abides but a moment, a ſmall, a little moment, not worth the ſetting our *feare* upon, ever ſince we could look through it, what a life it is. They make no account of any thing, but what ſets them backward or forward toward eternity, where they ſhall live *bleſſed for ever* in eternity: The thought whereof makes that which is good, infinitely better; and that which is evill, *infinitely worſe.* Thereon, upon Eternitie, they place their *feare* now, and concerning this life they are fearleſſe. We have ſeene what uſe the righteous make of *feare*, they work good out of it: and by theſe unquiet motions here below, they get an eſtabliſhment in God. I come now in the third place to the meanes whereby the righteous Nation can and doe maſter their feares, keeps them under ſo, as they are a *quiet habitation*, when all about them are full of ſtirs, a tumultuous people.

(*c*) John 12.25

Æternitas facit bonum infinite melius; malum infinite pejus.

SECT. III.

The meanes of the righteous mans eſtabliſhment, and how his feare, *the diſeaſe of it is cured.*

WE ſee the righteous are a people that are not afraid with any amazement. They feare, but with a *godly feare*; They *feare*, but nothing ſo much as ſin, and the frown of their God; They *fear*, but ſo, as they can look up with confidence, and down to the means of their ſafety with comfort; They *feare*, and yet they can gird up their loines, and put on their armour; They *feare*, and yet doe *truſt perfectly*; They *feare*, and are diſquieted, but not *greatly*. Their hearts may ſhake, and their heads ake with *feare*, and yet then they can calme their hearts, and reſt their heads in the lap and boſome of their *everlaſting Father*, there laying their ſelves downe quietly, aſſured they may reſt in ſafety, and the end will be peace. How comes this to be ſo? The Anſwer is, They expect troubles in the world, afflictions there; and they expect, nay they know *God* will deliver them out of them all: For they LOVE God heartily, ſo they FEARE HIM, ſo they TRUST IN HIM, ſo they OBEY HIM, even from the heart, walking in His way, doing His work; They *keep continuall watch* againſt their Adverſary, and over themſelves. All this muſt be conſidered on diſtinctly and apart, and ſo we ſhall learne the way how to ſettle the heart in the moſt unſetled times: The chiefe ſcope and mark we would carry all levell unto.

CHAP. I.

The righteous mans expectation from the world, *and from his* GOD, *ſhall not be deceived: He expects all the evill the world and their* god *there, can doe againſt them; And from His* GOD *all that is truly called* Good, *or is made ſo: All this he is ſure of, therefore he waits patiently for* God. *He will come ſurely and in ſeaſon, Bleſſed are all they that wait for Him.*

THe righteous are in continuall expectation: Of what? Of troubles in the fleſh, of afflictions in the world: Ever ſince they underſtood themſelves, they ſate downe to conſider what it would *coſt* them, To doe their Maſters work; To ſerve Him in ſinceritie and truth; and Their brethren, in love to their ſoules, and faith of the Goſpel: In this great work now, (whereunto evermore Chriſtians ſtand ſo engaged) the building themſelves up, and *Ieruſalems wall* in faith and love, They have *counted* their *coſt*, and they know what they muſt find at the bottome of their reckoning, *troubles* from within, *diſquietings*, *perſecutions* from without, of all ſorts and ſizes: And it was well, and they bleſſe God with all their hearts, Who hath inſtructed them to diſcretion, To *count* their *coſt* ſo ſoone as they thought of *Temple-work*, The *edifying* (the building up) themſelves and others in their moſt holy faith. This was the uſe they made of their *Reſt* and *Peace*, GOD was graciouſly pleaſed to afford unto them: They knew this *Temple-work* would coſt them deare, Labour and Trouble both: They expected all this, and whatever it be it is but anſwerable to their expectation: they looked for it, and now it is come, it is welcome: They are fit to entertaine it, they are fitted for it, as the burden is fitted for the ſhoulder, and the yoak for the neck.

I will tell a knowne and ſad ſtory of a man that lived in proſperity all his life long. God ſpake to him once and againe, and every day by every mercy he gave unto him; but he would not hearken, and that was his manner * from his youth, he would not obey Gods voice, what cared he what God ſaid, he was in pro-

* Jer. 22. 21.

ſperity, had no changes, and expected none; Towards the end, as the manner is, The *Lord* made a breach upon him, ſorrows overwhelmed him like a mighty flood. O, ſaid he, *I never looked for this:* Ai, that was true enough; and therefore his ſorrowes preſſed his ſoule we know not how low. *We looked for peace,* ſaid they. (*a*) Why did they ſo? For firſt, They had provoked GOD *to anger with their Images, and ſtrange vanities:* Secondly, (for I haſten here) The word is gone forth of His mouth, Who cannot lye, *In the world affliction:* Yet ſay they, *We looked for Peace,* what followes? *No good came; we looked for a time of health, and behold trouble.* A miſerable caſe to be ſo deceived, and in point of Peace. (*a*) Jer.8.15. ver.19.

The righteous not ſo, They are not deceived; They expect trouble, what the gates of hell can doe againſt them. All this is done againſt them, they are not troubled at it; They had their maſters word, it would be ſo, and ſo it is. Where is their comfort now? *In* ME PEACE; Trouble round about, and War at the doores, making breaches upon them; That which upholds them is, and fully to their expectation, IN ME PEACE.

I will aske a Queſtion, and reſolve it in two Anſwers; when I have cleared them, then I will conclude this point.

Queſt. Is the Church never deceived in her expectation?

Anſw. 1. No, never deceived in the world, in her expectation therein; ſhe expects no favour from it, but all the evill that can be done againſt her; and ſhe is ſure to have it from the world: And

2. Nor ſhall their expectation in GOD be fruſtrate; and there is the comfort.

I will cleare theſe premiſſes, and then conclude.

1. The Churches expectation from the world is never deceived. What doth ſhe expect? As aforeſaid, *Affliction* and *Perſecution* thence; Her *Lord* hath bid her expect it, for the world love their owne, not His people, as they love not *Him*; and they muſt not look to fare better then their *Lord:* Affliction in the world, Perſecution from the world, is a part of the Churches Dowry. See what a *loynter* her Good *Lord* hath made His *Church* and People! He hath given to her All, Himſelfe and All, the world and All, ALL THINGS (*b*) ARE YOURS, you ſhall profit and receive benefit from all, even from (*b*) 1 *Cor.*3.21

all that is called evill in the world: *All is yours.* There we reade the particulars of her Dowry, and amongst them, DEATH, afflictions, persecutions, pains, sorrowes, troubles in the flesh, (that is *Death*) and all this is in the *Churches* Dowry: no Part or Parcell of it is so large as this, for it containes *necessities, distresses, stripes, imprisonments, tumults, labours, watchings, fastings*; all this a very DEATH to a mans sense, and present feeling. Is it not
2 Cor. 6. 4, 5. thinke you *Death* to be as the Church is in some of her people alwayes? In *journyings, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by her owne Countreymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in*
2 Cor. 11. 26. *the City, in perils in the wildernesse, in perils amongst false brethren, in wearinesse, and painfulnesse.* That was *Pauls* case you wil say. Nay it is the *Churches* case with some of her sons and daughters, and it will be their case unto the worlds end. And certainly all this is a very *death*: To sojourne in *Mesech*, to dwell in the tents
Psal. 120. of *Kedar*, amongst them *that hate peace*, a very *Death* all this, working indeed graciously and gloriously, through GOD, that orders all for Good; but a very death to sense, to flesh and bloud. But it is her portion in this life (and no longer, but *durante vitâ*, a span, a little *moment*, in comparison to eternity, in the heavens, where *God* hath time enough to doe them good, and refresh their hearts after their hard labours here, with joyes there unspeakable, and long-lasting pleasures, lasting as long as eternity is long, *for ever*: but I say their sorrowes last no longer but *durante vitâ*) and disposed to her as a *Legacie* by her EVERLASTING FATHER, and she is content. Content! A poore and beggerly expression; she rejoyceth in her portion: for all that, which went before comes in at last with advantage, adding very much to the weight of her crowne: so she blesseth *God* for all, but for nothing so much as for *death*, for it makes the world nothing to her while she lives, and when she dies, sets her cleare of all, that
(d) Vid Ingrossorum. Col. 1. 11. we call *Evill*; makes her compleat throughout, FITTED and (d) *Meet* for after-*Glory*. Death in some sort is like the *Whale*, which swallowed *Ionah*, a terrible thing; but it wasteth the man to Land, setteth him cleare from all winds and stormes.

But *Death* is Part of the Churches Dowry; her lot To bee made the *portion of foxes*; To bee persecuted in this world: shee hath so much of Heaven in her, that shee must fare the worse

in

in the world, which knowes none, favours none heartily but *its owne*; Without controversy, persecution is the note of a True Church, There is *God* or something of *God*, some plaine character of His Image, against whom the Assemblies of violent men, The *Nimrods*, The *Esaus*, The *Neroes* of the world do bend themselves.

But can this People endure all this hardship? are they able to beare up against all this persecution from the tongues and hands of violent men? *Quest.*

Yes, no doubt of that, for *God* hath fitted them for shocks, and brunts, and violent blasts; Hee hath made their faces like flints, their shoulders like brasse, their Hands and Armes like Iron. What can the Adversary doe now? The blast of the terrible ones, what can it availe? It is answered; As much as a storme against *a brazen wall*: so the SPIRIT scornes what *flesh* can doe against *Him*. *Greater is He That is in you, Then hee that is in the world.* (*k*) These people are resolved upon that, and they have *overcome the world*; should then such men as they *feare*, when they heare the *Defaming of many*, (which they looke to heare) and crying out *violence and spoile*? Should such men as these feare? No, They cannot bee affraid with any amazement, for *I am with them* saith *The* (*a*) LORD, they are assured of that. What then? Then what They will follows, for They will ask nothing, but according to His will. If they have written down that, as one saith, then they may write what they will, for GOD is *with them*, then all is with them, That can make for their provision and protection; *They shall dwell on high, their place of Defence shall be the munitions of Rocks*; BREAD *shall be given them*; their WATERS *shall bee sure* (*b*) *God* is with them, Then All That is in *God*, His *Goodnesse, wisdome, Power*, All shall be laid out for them, to make all that is needfull for them, sure unto them. And then touching their Adversary, though hee bee a *Legion*, this follows; *hee shall fight against them, but hee shall not prevaile against them: The* LORD IS WITH ME *as a* MIGHTY TERRIBLE ONE, *therfore my persecuters shall stumble & be greatly ashamed; his everlasting confusion shall never bee forgotten.* Nay, the adversary shall bee so far from hurting them, that hee shall do them good, and they shall hurt him; for now that *God* is with them, they have

Anſ.

Esay 1.5,7. Jer.1.18.

Esay 25.4.

(*k*) 1 Joh.4.4.

(*a*) Jer.1.19.

Jer.20.8,10.

(*b*) Esay 33.16 *Ac ſi dicerat puris & integris Dei cultoribus nihil defuturum: panis enim & aqua nomine ſignificat omnia, &c.* Cal.

Jer.20.11.

Armes

Armes of ſteele, and feete of braſſe, and they ſhall *threſh the mountaines like ſtraw, and the hills like Chaffe, and come upon Princes as upon morter.* Eſai. 41. 15. 25.

2. Are the Righteous people aſſured of all this?

Yes, for the Lord hath ſaid it, as wee have read, Hee hath given His word for their ſecurity, they take it, are ſecure, fixed and Reſt thereon. As their expectation from the world never deceived them ſince the world was, and they were in the world; So, nor ſhall their expectation from *God* faile them, they have an aſſured confidence of That. Shall the expectation of the Righteous faile? No, the *Lord* forbid, nay the *Lord* forgive unto them any ſuch miſgiving thoughts within them. The *hope of the Righteous ſhall bee gladneſſe: but the expectation of the wicked ſhall periſh.* (*b*) Can the Righteous feare this, That their hope ſhal faile them? No; It cannot bee, for they have *ſet their hope in God.* The hope of the wicked ſhal be *cut off: they ſhall be afraid and aſhamed* of (the word) *their expectation*; *and of* (the Contentments there) *their Glory*, (*c*) And now, LORD, *what* (*d*) *wait I for?* ſayes DAVID. As if the ſervant of The LORD had ſaid; doe I waite, doe I expect, doe I looke for Peace, Comfort, eſtabliſhment and ſatisfaction from the world? do I ſeeke *great things* for my ſelfe therein? Thou knoweſt, LORD, what I wait for, none of all this from the world; But, as it followes, *my hope* is in *Thee.* What an unreaſonable thing were it, how unworthy of GOD, The *God* not of ſome but of all conſolations, how unworthy a thought of Him, To thinke, That a poore creature, who hath ſet his *hope* in GOD, expects all from *Him*, from The world nothing at all; how unworthy a thought, That This GOD will deceive this poore creature, that waites for Him; though Hee *hideth His face*, yet lookes for Him: He frownes upon him, anſwers him Roughly, yet this ſoul expects from *Him*; notwithſtanding what is ſaid or done, the poore ſcule will not returne *to vanity*, hee will not looke to the world, hee will wait, hee hath *ſet* his *hope* in GOD, hee will looke for *Him*; Will the LORD deceive this Man, that expects all from Him, hath ſet his hope upon Him? It is ſure enough, *Hee* will not; *The needy ſhall not bee alway forgotten; the hopes of the afflicted ſhall not periſh for ever*: (*e*) The poore and needy mans expectation (ſet upon God) is not delayed, but deferred, and ſtrained.

(*b*) Pro. 67. 10. 28.

(*c*) Eſai. 20. 5.

(*d*) Pſal. 39. 7.

(*e*) Pſal. 9. 18.

ed. Why? To open the mouth and heart wider, that the more comfort may come in at laſt; and that their heart and JOY there may be (*g*) FULL. *They have waited patiently* for THE LORD, they waited upon *Him*. They, When He *hid His face, then they looked for Him*: They waited the time, when He would be gracious. Now hearken, *Therefore will The* LORD *wait that He may be gracious unto you: and therefore He will be exalted, That he may have mercie upon you: for The Lord is a God of judgement, Bleſſed are all they that wait for Him.* (g) Joh.16.24. Pſal.40.1. Eſay 8.17. Eſay 30.18.

Ai, but *hope deferred maketh the heart ſick.* That is true, but there is a time comming, when the heart ſhall recover, be made every whit whole, and perfectly well againe: and it ſhall be the more haile and comforted, the ſicker it was: for *When the deſire commeth it is a tree of life.* Therefore though The *Lord* tarry, the ſoule will patiently wait for Him, becauſe He will *ſurely come*, and *will not tarry*. And when He, That was ſo long expected, waited-looked-for, when He commeth (and then He comes, and Tarries not, when the Churches ſeaſon is come) then He makes amends for His long tarrying (as the world thought, and ſometimes the Church alſo, and in her haſte counted it *ſlackneſſe*) He tarryed ſo long, that He might come in ſeaſon, that His peoples joy might be brim-full: when their hearts, wearyed with long *waiting*, ſhall the more rejoyce, and their withered bones (*o*) ſhall flouriſh like an herbe: For it ſhall be ſaid in that day, (after their long waitings) *Loe This is our* GOD, *we have waited for Him*; *This is The* LORD, *we have waited for Him*: and we are glad He is come; with all our hearts doe we rejoyce in His ſalvation, for it is His, a marvailous, great, exceeding ſalvation, the greater, the longer it ſtayed: And now theſe waiting people ſhall *renew their ſtrength, they ſhall mount up with wings as Eagles, they ſhall run and not be weary, and they ſhall walk and not faint.* Pro.13.12. Hab.2.3. (o) Eſay 66.14 Eſay 25.9. Eſay 40.31.

We are concluded now upon theſe Points,

1. That the righteous mans expectation from the world will not deceive him; what the world and the god therein can doe againſt him, ſhall be done, he expects it, therefore they ſhall not be able to doe him hurt.

2. His expectation from *God* cannot deceive him; for GOD

is faithfull: They that wait for Him, (doe expect all from Him, and from the world nothing but affliction thence) ſhall not repent of their waiting, for GOD will come in ſeaſon, and not tarry, when they ſhall be moſt glad of His comming, and ſay, It is beſt of all that He came not ſooner: for now their hearts are brim-full of joy: So they have concluded: In aſſured confidence hereof, theſe people are not afraid now with any amazement: As their *hope* is in GOD, ſo is their *heart* and *love* ſet upon Him alſo. This followes,

CHAP. II.

The Righteous love God: *That Love caſteth forth Feare: Sad objections cleared to the hearts of the righteous: God comes-in to ſuccour and reſcue thoſe, whom He loveth, not always when they call, but alwaies in ſeaſon, and fitteſt time: Seldome to their* wil, *but ever to their* weal, *when they ſhall ſee leaſt in themſelves, and moſt in God: The perſons, whom* God *loveth, ſhall be afflicted, but* for their good.

THE Righteous *love* GOD: And *Love* to the ſoule is like the *Rudder* to the Ship, it turnes about all the powers and faculties of the ſoule, and all to *God*; It lades and unlades all the goods there, all for GODS *glory*; it receives all in, and gives all forth for that ſame great end: ſo *Love* doth. I have ſaid all, when *I* have ſaid, The Righteous *love* GOD. It *formes* every work they doe; and nothing forms a man or his work ſo dexterouſly as *Love* doth, Love to God, Love to His Truth, Love to His People, Love to their peace; This inflames mens mindes, works them ſuddenly to great perfection, facilitates the work, makes it ſlide on. Nay farther, as one obſerves truly, "That all other Affections, though they raiſe the minde, yet "they doe it by diſtorting, and uncomelineſſe of extaſies, or exceſſes; but onely *Love* doth exalt the mind, and nevertheleſſe, at the ſame inſtant, doth ſettle and compoſe it: So in all other excellencies, though they advance Nature, yet they are ſubject to exceſſe.

exceſſe: onely Charity admitteth no exceſſe. The righteous love God. I have ſaid all.

Why, but all will ſay as much: No man in the world, but wil ſay, *I love* GOD: he dares not, nay he is aſhamed to ſay otherwiſe. *Ob.*

True, I will reply ſhortly to this, and onĉe for all, for all will ſay as much touching their *feare* too, and their *truſt* alſo, &c. *Anſw.*

As the *Kingdome* of *God*, ſo the *love* of *God* is not in *word*, but in *power*: GOD *doth know* (that is, approves) *not the ſpeech of them, that ſay* (*a*) *ſo, but the power of them, that doe ſo*: That love The Lord, not in *word*, but in *deed*. We have all, I verily beleeve it, a kind of faint, weak, wateriſh *love*, which indeed the Scripture calls an hatred, when the creature hath the ſtrength, and as I may ſay, the firſt-borne of our love: and *God* the after-birth, which is of no account with *Him*, but counted as aforeſaid. The righteous people *love God*; They ſee an excellencie in *God*, a tranſcendent goodneſſe. As it was ſaid of *Peter* and *John*, when they ſaw their boldneſſe, They *tooke knowledge of them that they had been with Ieſus*: So, doe we obſerve the Saints love to Chriſt! We muſt take knowledge, That the City of God doe *know* The *Lord Chriſt*, they have and doe ſee His Goodneſſe; They are with Him by their graces of *love*, and *faith*; they *converſe* with Him day and night. Therefore they *ſo love God*, even *as* they *glorifie Him*, AS (*b*) GOD, *glorious in holineſſe, fearfull in praiſes, doing wonders*: *The onely Potentate, The King of Kings and Lord of Lords*. They *Love* GOD *as* they are *thankefull* to *Him*, *as* TO GOD, in Whom they live, move, and have their Being: in Whoſe hands is their *Time*, their Breath, and all their wayes: from Whom they have all things richly to enjoy, to whom He communicates Himſelf: ſo they glorifie Him, ſo they are thankfull, and ſo they *love* HIM with an exceeding love, a love that commands in chiefe; the great *Centurion*, it commands all within and without, to ſpeak, to doe, to ſtrive for *God*, for ſo they love HIM with a predominate *love*, which carryeth the ſoul on high. And where this love of God rules, there *peace* rules, be the earth never ſo unquiet. Get we this *love* rooted in our hearts; it is the fitteſt of any thing to expell *feare*, to keep downe the workings of it, for it maintains and guards Reaſon, and raiſeth the

(*a*) 1 Cor. 4. 19, 20.

Acts 4. 13.

(*b*) Rom. 1. 21. Exod. 15. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 15.

ſoule above the world, ſo as it can bid defiance to *death*, and then to unreaſonable men, and devils too. If I beare a true *love* to *God*, ſtronger then death, if ſo, then I can beare any thing; I can goe through fire, and water, all along before the face and noſe of the adverſaries, (if I am called to do it) and feare nothing. The *love* of GOD conſtraines me, yea commands me, and, as the *peace of God, keeps* and *ſafeguards* me alſo; It *keeps* my *heart* and *mind*, my *ſoul* and my *ſpirit, through Chriſt Ieſus*: It keeps my underſtanding, that there be no defilement there through the errors of wicked men. It keeps my *will*, that there be no perverſeneſſe there, not ſubdued and brought under: It keeps my *affections*, that they be cleane and holy; that my hatred be to all *iniquity*, and my love to *righteouſneſſe*, for I *love God*, how then ſhould I think or doe thus and thus, and ſo ſin againſt him? The *love* of God keeps me in perfect peace, ſo far as that *love* is perfect in me. If a man can reſolve himſelf (by the Spirit) *That God loves him*, That he is in Chriſt reconciled unto Him, This is enough To diſſolve the thickeſt cloud of feare, overcaſting the ſoule; enough to take off the edge, and blunt that eager and keene paſſion, which ſo cuts, and lanceth the ſpirits: for then, he can ſay alſo, *He loves GOD with a CHILD-like love*, as a child loves the father; ſo as he can repoſe himſelfe in his fathers lap or boſome, in aſſured confidence *He careth for him*; and then he can be as bold as *Paul* was, and as well perſwaded, *That neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God*, (*a*) *&c.*

Phil. 4. 7. φρουρήσει.

(*a*) Rom. 8. 38, 39.

The work then of a Chriſtian is to cleare this point; for when that is done, all is done; he lives as a man in the upper Region of the world, *riding upon the high places of the earth*, above the winds and ſtormes, which infeſt and trouble us here below. I remember I have read of one, who being upon a tempeſtuous ſea, and his ſhip almoſt covered with waves, and the paſſengers there almoſt dead with feare, was, notwithſtanding, very cheerfull and comfortable, calme and quiet in his mind, rather inclined to ſing then to mourne: Being asked the reaſon of his ſettlement, and ſo quiet repoſe of ſpirit, anſwered thus: *My Father is the Pilot of the ſhip; He is at the ſterne, holds the helme: He loves me, I love Him*

Eſay 58. 14.

Him, The winds and ſtormes fulfilling his word, (*b*) *He bids them riſe, and they are up, and ſo bluſtering: then (He chideth) He rebuketh them, then they fall and are ſtill. I know and am well perſwaded, whether ſtormes or calmes, I ſhall get to my Haven, and in paſſage thither nothing ſhall doe me hurt, every thing ſhall doe me good from His hand that loves * me. And this makes me fearleſſe, this calmes me within, what unquiet motions ſoever are without.* Oh of what mighty concernment is this, in theſe times! when *the commandement is gone forth to reſtore and to build Ieruſalems wall*, (evermore TROUBLOUS TIMES) (*c*) That every man ſhould labour to cleare his ſpirit (by the Spirit) at this great point, *The love of* GOD *towards him, his love to* GOD; for this makes faire weather within, however tempeſtuous it is abroad. Here comes in an Objection, I will reſolve it at the firſt, and once for all.

(*b*) Pſal. 148. 8 Mat. 8. 26. * ἐγὼ οἶδα ἃ φρονῶ, &c. Chryſoſt. *Facile impetratur ſemper quod filius poſtulat.* Tertul. de pœn. c. 11. (*c*) Dan. 9. 25.

Ob. A man may love GOD, and feare Him too, (which followes next) and obey Him alſo, and all this from the heart, and yet he may be afraid: he may have a great deale of *love*, and *faith* too, and yet have a great deale of feare; he may love, and feare God above many, and yet feare the creature more then is meet.

1. *Iacob*, a very good man, he loved *God* with all his heart, yet *Iacob was* GREATLY (*a*) *afraid.* [GREATLY,] Marke that. (*a*) Gen. 32. 7.

2. *David*, a man after *Gods* owne heart, yet heare him what he ſaith, *Fearfulneſſe and trembling are come upon me, and terror hath overwhelmed me.* (*b*) (*b*) Pſal. 52, 5.

3. *Iehoſhaphat*, a very good King, yet *he feared.* (*c*) (*c*) 2 Chr. 20. 3

4. The Diſciples, choiſe men all, ſuch as loved their Maſter with all their heart, and with their whole ſoule, yet *fearfull.* (*d*) (*d*) Mat. 8. 26.

Before the Anſwer, note this: A man may love God much, and yet feare much hurt from the creature. And a man may have no *love* to *God*, and yet no feare of the creature: ſo ſtupified his ſpirit may be. Now I anſwer, indeed the Context anſwers it for me.

Anſw. *Iacob* was greatly afraid and diſtreſſed; how then? his feare did not put him off from duty, but engaged him thereunto. Now ſee how wiſely he diſpoſeth of things, then rouls himſelfe and all his upon GOD, wraps up his ſoule, and all his concernments Gen. 32. 7, 8, 9, &c.

in a promiſe, and there is an end of the matter, and enough for *Iacob*.

ubi durius ſervos ſuos exercet Deus, nulla eſt tenta fortitudo quæ non labeſcat. Calv. in Pſal. 55.

2. *Davids* caſe was extraordinary, a thick cloud was over his ſpirit, and the face of God was clouded towards him too. He had troubles within, and ſtorms without; whether *Saul* purſued him, or his owne ſon, it is not reſolved, but he was in the ſtraits, and *God* was not ſo preſent to ſenſe, and then we muſt *give the ſtouteſt heart leave to quaile*, ſaith Maſter *Calvin*. The Concluſion is ſure and certaine; Cleare your evidence, That *God* loves you, and you ſhall cleare your ſpirits of theſe thick fogs which *feare* raiſeth. Nay, if you cannot cleare your evidence, but God will keep you humble all your dayes, in a hanging, and doubtful eſtate, yet caſt your ſelfe upon Him; though He kill, yet truſt in Him. But more of this a little after.

(*e*) 2 Chron. 20. 1.
(*f*) ver. 3.
(*g*) ver. 6.
(*h*) ver. 7.

3. *Iehoſhaphat* feared alſo, for hee heard that which would quicken any man that had life in him: *There commeth a great multitude againſt thee.* (*e*) Then *he* FEARED. (*f*) But take the following words, *And ſet himſelfe to ſeek the Lord, &c.* His Feare put him upon Duty. Then he remembred *God*, in Whoſe hand is power and might, *Art not Thou God in heaven?* (*g*) Then he pleads his intereſt in his God, *Art not Thou* OUR GOD? (*h*) Then he cals to mind the right hand of the Almighty, what He had done of old. O bleſſed be God for that feare, (as was ſaid before) you cannot have too much of that feare, which renders you much in ſeeking, which makes you love much, feare much, obey much.

4. The Diſciples were fearfull, but they were prayerfull; They would not let GOD *alone*; they would *give Him no reſt*. GOD ſeemes to be (for he ſpeaketh to our capacity) as *Ionah*, aſleep, when the Ship of the Church is covered with waves. Nay The *Lord Chriſt* was, at that time, as clothed with our fleſh, ſo ſubject to our infirmities, and was aſleep: And then the Diſciples are fearfull, All will be caſt away, Chriſt and all. Indeed they that feare the Church will be drowned, doe feare that Chriſt will be drowned too: for if the Body drowne, the Head muſt drowne; and if the Head drowne not, the Body cannot drown: it may be overwhelmed with great waters of affliction. While the Head is above, the Body is ſafe enough. But ſuch was the Diſci-

Diſciples infirmity at this time, and ſuch was our Lords infirmity at that time, that then He was aſleep. What then? They awoke *God* with their prayers, as we know the manner is. A bleſſed feare then (as was ſaid) which makes a man awake Chriſt by his importunity; which puts a man upon duty, makes him more prayerfull, makes him love more, and cling to his Father the faſter, ſo *Iacob*, ſo *David*, ſo *Iehoſhaphat*, ſo the *Diſciples* feared, ſo as they did their Duty the better.

Ob. But much may be ſaid touching this *love* of GOD: It is not ſuch a *Cure* of *feare*, not ſuch a buckler to a perſon; we ſee here how the fore-mentioned were *terrified*, yet they *loved* GOD. Look I pray you and it is a ſad ſight, *Thou art become cruel to me, with Thy ſtrong hand Thou oppoſeſt Thy ſelfe againſt me. Thou liftеſt me up to the wind, Thou cauſeſt me to ride upon it, and diſſolveſt my ſubſtance.* (a) I will defer the Anſwer to this till anon. The Objection now runs thus: Not how the *Lord* hath dealt with particular perſons, whom He loves dearly: nor what thoſe perſons have ſaid, when they walked in darkneſſe, and ſaw no light, [We muſt take it for granted, That there are ſad expreſſions breaking forth of the lips, when there are grievous apprehenſions within the ſoule] But How he hath dealt with a whole Nation, and that the *dearly beloved of His ſoul*; He hath delivered ſuch a Nation into *His enemies hands*: (c) So that they who hated them, have Lorded it over them, have dealt *hatefully* and deſpitefully with them. (d)

(a) Job 30.21, 22.

(c) Jer.12.7.

(d) Ezek.23. 28,29.

Anſw. This cannot be denied, and ſince His *Iudgements are manifeſt*, and the Reaſons of them alſo are written and made legible for our inſtruction, we ſtand charged to take good notice of them here, I meane The Reaſons, which moved The *Lord* to proceed in wrath againſt His *dearly beloved*, and to caſt them out of their owne Land, and into the hands of them, from whom *their mind* was *alienated* firſt.

1. When GOD's *People* doe not walke As His People; when He takes them neere unto Himſelfe, and they walk looſe with Him; not as a ſeparated and peculiar people to Him, whom He hath ſeparated, and beſtowed upon them ſpeciall and peculiar mercies. When His people walke ſo *contrary* to Him, and their owne Proteſtation, Then His manner is to walke *contrary* to them.

them. He may goe out of that path when *He* liſteth, and exempt a Nation from the generall rule: But this is His *manner*; He may deale with us according to His *Prerogative Royall*, which is ever in ſhewing mercy: He may doe ſo, but it is extraordinary, as we have cauſe to obſerve above all the Nations in the world.

2. When His People do not do according to the CHARGE, (*l*) *utterly to root out the name of Amalek*, that old and ancient enemy to His Church, and the very ſame to this day: when this charge is neglected or ſlighted, and the contrary is done; *Amalek* is countenanced, encouraged, foſtered, ſuffered to get head; Then it ſhall come to paſſe, That theſe Adverſaries and enemies ſhall be *pricks* in your eyes, and *thornes in your ſides*, and ſhall *vexe you in the Land wherein you dwell*, (*m*) *ſaith the Lord*. They ſhall be ſnares and traps unto you, untill ye periſh from off the good Land, which The Lord your God hath given you. (*n*) It is the good word of The Lord, which is the ſame for ever.

(*l*) Deut. 25 19
(*m*) Num. 33. 35.
(*n*) Joſh. 23. 13

3. When the Rulers, the Princes and Judges of the earth are like the evening wolves, ravening the prey: (*o*) What then? Then, for their ſakes, *Zion muſt be plowed as a field*. (*p*) When the Prieſts violate the Law, profane the holy things, devoure ſoules, hide their eyes *from the Sabbath*, put no difference betweene the holy and profane: What then? Then *peace is taken from the earth*: When the Sabbaths are gone, when the people oppreſſe, exerciſe tyrannie, and vexe the poore and needy: When the Prieſts are become brutiſh, the people no better: when they that are good, and have power, ſit ſtill, and contend not againſt the ſtreame: Then we reade this, *All ye beaſts of the field, come to devoure, yea all the beaſts of the forreſt*. (*q*) His Watchmen are blind, and the Paſtors are become brutiſh: (*r*) what then? Then *all their flocks ſhall be ſcattered*. Behold the noiſe of the *bruit is come*, and a great commotion to make *Cities deſolate*, and *a den of dragons*.

(*o*) Ez. 22.
(*p*) Mich. 3. 11 Zeph. 3. 3. Ezech. 22. Mic. 6. 12, 13.
Eſay 56. 9.
(*q*) Jer. 12. 9.
(*r*) Jer. 10. 21.

In theſe caſes, The Lord is provoked very much, even til there be *no remedy*. (*ſ*) And then He forſakes His houſe, leaves *His* heritage, gives up the *dearly beloved of His ſoule into the hands of her enemies*, lets in judgements like a floud, and it carryeth down all, good and bad, with the impetuouſneſſe of its ſtreame. What, good and bad together? Will the LORD deſtroy the righteous with

(*ſ*) 2 Chr. 36. 16. Jer. 12. 7.

with the wicked? Yes, No man knoweth either *love*, or *hatred* by *all that is before the eye.* (p) All things come alike to all; The same Common destruction takes away all together, makes no difference: And there is a great reason for that, which we must take in, in passage, for,

(p) Eccles. 9.1.

The Righteous did comply too much with the time, went along with the streame, sided with the strongest in sight, or looked on heareing Blasphemies, beholding iniquity and wrong, In the mean time, said and did nothing; * stood not up *in the gap*; And therefore now he is thrust down also, hurried along with the Torrent and breaking in of mighty Waters: he is over-whelmed in the flood, even these good Men for the reason aforesaid: No difference at all in the suffering, for the manner and time thereof; but in the fruit, issue and end, an infinite distance, and inequality. "Where we note, That this difference between the good & bad, "in a Common Calamity, is not visible, not discernable by the "Eye, & yet a great, wide, and an ever-lasting difference; the good "are delivered in it; The bad utterly destroyed by it; The good "purified; The bad consumed. Good and bad are in the same ca-"lamity, But as the Gold and Chaffe are in the same fire, The one "shines there, the other smokes, As the stubble, and the wheat-"corne are under the same flaile, the one is bruised there, the other "cleansed; freed of its Chaffe, and fitted for the scive, not a Corne "*shall be lost*. So also one and the same violence carryes away all "the good and the bad all together; destroyeth, wasteth the one "with an utter destruction: but trieth, purgeth, purifieth the good.

* *Iure istam vitam quando divinitus affliguntur, cum eis amaram sentiunt, cujus amando dulcedinem peccantibus eis amari esse noluerunt.* Aug. de civ. l. 1. c. 9.

Manet dissimilitudo passorum etiam in similitudine passionum, & licet in eodem tormento non est idem virtus & vitium. Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat, palea fumat, &c. Aug. de ci. l. 1. c. 8.

It is good to note this with all observation; for heere we have a Cleere difference betwixt the *good* and the *bad*, betwixt the persecuted now, and the persecutors afterwards. The good may fall, but they shall bee holpen *with a little help*: And their faling by the sword *and by spoyle many dayes*, shall be to them as of old it was, *To trie them, and to purge and make them white.* (f) But for the wicked it is not so with them, but as we heard. It is a comfortable speech; *Rejoyce* (t) *not against me O mine enemy*: When *I fall I shall arise*; But when thou fallest, Thou shalt fall; Thy casting down shall bee like *the fall of a millstone* (u) into great waters, Thou shalt rise no more: *When I fall, I shall arise*; This is the heritage of them that love The *Lord*: when their

Amos 9.9.

(f) Dan. 11.33
(t) Micah 7.8.
(u) Rev. 18.21

Adverſarie falls he ſhall *riſe no more*, This is the portion of his meaſures for ever.

The concluſion is, It ſhall be well with them that love The *Lord*. Nay it is well with them now, though not to *ſenſe*, yet to *faith*. The caſe of *David* was not ordinary; *Iobs* caſe extraordinary: That which follows will give ſome light and ſome ſatisfaction to both.

It is a moſt prevailing argument, which the ſiſter uſed in behalfe of her brother *Lazarus*; LORD, *behold he whom Thou loveſt is ſick*. This will prevaile ſure; It is the mightieſt argument in the world, LORD, The *Perſon, whom Thou loveſt*; The *Cauſe, the Faith, the Truth, the Religion*, WHICH THOU LOVEST is *now in jeopardie*; The Malignants oppoſe it, oppreſſe it, they would thruſt it out of the world, and the profeſſors of it; That which THOU LOVEST, *theſe ſons of the earth doe hate*; *Thoſe whom Thou loveſt, theſe men would cut off from being a Nation.* Certainly GOD will come in for reſcue now, and worke a glorious Deliverance. And yet perhaps not at the juſt and ſet time of our over-haſty expectation: Before Deliverance comes, this perſon, whom *Chriſt* loveth, may be ſurpriſed with fearfulneſſe; *trembling* may *come upon him*, and *horror* may overwhelme him, that it may. The *Cauſe*, the *Truth*, which GOD loveth, may ſeem to be delivered up into the enemies hands, ſo as they may lay the *Glory* of it (for a time, and in the eye of man) in the duſt. Let us conſult with the context once more, and with good conſideration. There we read; *Lord, he whom Thou loveſt, is ſick; when Ieſus heard that He abode two dayes ſtill in the place where He was.* (a) That is a ſtrange matter; we ſhould thinke, and ſo the ſiſters thought too, That when *Ieſus* heard, That The man, whom He loved was ſick, He would have made haſte away, and come with all ſpeede to His ſick friend; But it was not ſo, when He heard THAT, *He abode two dayes ſtill in the ſame place.* Was this His kindneſſe to His friend? *Ieſus loved Martha and her ſiſter and Lazarus*: But His abode two dayes longer, and when He heard that *Lazarus* was ſick, made no cleare proofe of it unto them at that time. Jeſus came indeede, but when *Martha*, and *Mary*, and the *Iewes* alſo thought it was too late, when the breath was departed, the body laid in a cave, and *a ſtone laid*

John 11. 3.

(a) John 11. 3.

ver. 5.

ver. 38.

laid upon it foure dayes before *Ieſus* came. Then, and then when the caſe was ſo helpleſſe, and hopeleſſe, then Jeſus came. Truly, that is His manner now, but ſee mighty reaſon for His ſo long tarrying then. Had He come quickly, as ſoone as He was ſent unto, and called for, poſſible it was, That He, who opened the eyes of *the blinde*, might have cauſed *even* this man *Lazarus* ſhould *not have dyed*: (*b*) ſo ſome there reaſoned at that time, and ſo we have reaſoned (in ſuch caſes) ever ſince. The Perſons, or the Cauſe, which Jeſus loveth, have beene in jeopardy; to the eyes of man, in an helpleſſe and hopeleſſe condition; If God had come in to his ſervants and their cauſe ſo ſoone as they called for *Him*, then their hopes had flouriſhed, but ſtaying till the caſe is deſperate to ſenſe & reaſon, their hope is periſhed. Surely, ſo the ſervants of God have reaſoned many a time. But let the ſervants of The *Lord* well obſerve The *Lords* comming in to theſe two ſiſters, at that time, and they can never diſtruſt The *Lord* at any time. Had their *Lord* come in unto them, when they called for Him, He might have cauſed that even *Lazarus* ſhould not *have dyed*. But then what ſingular thing had Hee done? A Phyſitian, an ordinary man, had done many a time as much as that before Him. But when as He abode two dayes longer in the ſame place, where He was, when He heard of *Lazarus* ſickneſſe; and ſtayed yet two dayes longer by the way (of ſet purpoſe to let the laſt enemy alone to compleat its conqueſt, to cloſe the pits mouth upon *Lazarus*, and to role a ſtone over him) and now comming in for reſcue, and taking the *prey* out of the hands of the *terrible one*; This made Chriſt admired in all, *that did beleeve*: for now, they muſt needes ſee, The *Glory* of God, whereas, had *Ieſus* came at their call, before *Death* had made its conqueſt, they had ſeene no more but the meere exerciſe of power, and skill, which might be put forth by a meere man. Jeſus ſaid plainly (without a figure, for he called death a ſleepe before) *Lazarus is dead, and I am glad for your ſakes*. Why glad that His friend *Lazarus* was dead? and glad for their ſakes? They were all very ſorry that *Lazarus* was dead; and it grieved them to the heart, that Jeſus came not ſooner, for if Jeſus had beene there, their *Brother had not dyed*, ſaid the ſiſter: Then why was Jeſus glad that he was not there? Becauſe, that they preſently

(*b*) ver. 37.

John 14.1.

If any thing fall out to the advantage of His people, Jesus (speaking to our capacity) is glad, and there is joy in Heaven even now.

ſently beholding His glorious worke in raiſing a putrified carkeſſe, they would then *beleeve*, and *rejoice* with *an exceeding joy*, which they had not done, had Jeſus beene there before, and cauſed that *Lazarus* had not dyed. We may conclude now; That the Lord will come in for the ſafegard and reſcue of His people, *whom He loveth*, of His *Cauſe*, which He ſo favoureth, in ſeaſon, the fitteſt time, when His beloved people ſhall *moſt admire His comming*, beholding the exceeding glory thereof. When is this time? Then, when the Righteous mans hopes are dead to the world, ſenſe and reaſon, and when the malignants hopes flouriſh, Then The *Lord* comes in, That is His Time, when the wicked thinke they have their hope in their hands, and when the Righteous are emptied of all creature-confidence, they ſet no hope there, but all in God: Then The Lord comes in, when they are to ſenſe, as *dead bones*, then they ſhall flouriſh like *an herbe*, for *then the hand of the Lord ſhall bee knowne towards His ſervants*, when they are *Orphanes*, poore, peeled, helpleſſe, comfortleſſe people, then the *Lord* comes with His comforts, and how doth he comfort? *As one whom His mother comforteth.* Then they ſhall be comforted indeed, *For as a mother comforteth her childe, ſo will I comfort you, and you ſhall be comforted:* From theſe premiſes the concluſion is worth the repeating, and recalling again and again. "The Lord comes in ever to His be-"loved people moſt ſeaſonably, in the fitteſt and beſt time, when "they can ſee the *moſt* of *God* that can be ſeene, and the *leaſt* of "the creature. He will come in then, when His people ſhall ſay, if *He* had come ſooner, it had not beene ſo well, we had not loved Him ſo much, admired Him ſo much, we had not ſeene ſo much of His Glory, we had not ſo *rejoyced in His ſalvation.* So they love God, and ſo they are beloved of Him, therefore they are not afraid, at no time *greatly* troubled. If there be a cloud of feare, there is an eclipſe of *Gods Love*, onely we muſt remember we make an allowance to the beſt man, when wee weigh him upon the ballance, for hee is ſuppoſed ever in a Chriſtian.

Eſay 66.4.

ver. 13.

Homo ſupponitur in Chriſtiano.

Before we cloſe, let us note this from the premiſſes, That The *Lords* manner is, To exerciſe the perſons whom Hee loveth, with the foreſt afflictions; *Jeſus loved Martha and her*

John.11.3.

ſiſter

ſiſter and *Lazarus*: therefore Hee would try their patience; He would not come to them at their call, till the caſe was deſperate; till, that they feared, had taken hold of them, and overwhelmed them; *whom the Lord loveth Hee chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom Hee receiveth. It is* the manner of Parents ſo to doe, not ſcourge ſtrange children, but him, whom they love they will ſcourge. The *Lord* hath delivered up The dearly beloved of His Soule; whither? As we have read, *Into the enemies hands.* It was ever ſo, it is ſo at this Day; hee, whom GOD *loveth*, is ſpoiled, robbed, pillaged; the enemies bend all their malice againſt him, whom GOD *loveth*; And *God* ſuffers them ſo to do, for excellent ends ſpoken of before, for theſe here To hide pride from their eyes by hiding the creature from them, To try their patience; To raiſe up their hope after an enduring ſubſtance; To try them, I ſaid, and to purge them to make them *white even* (*c*) *to the time of the end.* To make them *Meet* for the *inheritance of the Saints in light.* (*d*) It is notable, The *Lord* uſeth theſe vile wretches, as ſcullions, To *purge* and *whiten* His veſſells, oppointed for honour. Indeed the rod of the wicked may bee ſo heavy upon the back of The Righteous, and may raiſe within them ſuch a thick cloud, that hee can hardly diſcerne a *Fatherly love* and *Hand* through it (for there are ſtrange apprehenſions and tremblings within the heart, when there is a cup of trembling in the hand:) But it will be faire weather anon; The thick cloud ſhall bee diſſolved, and The FATHERS *love* will ſhine forth the clearer, the thicker the cloud hath been, The FATHERS *love* over-rules the Adverſary, binds him, *meaſureth out* the effects of their fury and mallice, orders all as Hee did that long captivity, FOR THY (*c*) GOOD, whom Hee loveth; That is the comfort and the concluſion of this point, *for their Good, whom Hee loveth,* And who make Him their feare.

Heb. 12.6.

(*c*) Dan. 11.35.

(*d*) Coloſ. 1.12.

(*c*) Jer. 24.5.

CHAP. III.

The Righteous feare God, as God; they that doe ſo, cannot feare the creature.

THe *Righteous feare* GOD; what then? I have ſaid all. They *feare* GOD, then they feare neither men, nor Divells. If wee obſerve, wee meete with this expreſſion often, I FEARED. what? The Creature, what hee could doe againſt me; I was afraid of a Man, and then hee deſerted his Duty, ran away from GOD and from himſelfe. Wee read againe, I know not how often, *I feare* GOD; And then hee feares nothing, hee goes on, as bold as a lion, the enemy is behind him, a mountain of *ſtraits* on each hand, a ſea of troubles before him, yet he goes on with the more courage: hee ſets GOD before his eyes, Whom hee ſerves, Whom hee feares, His *Cauſe*, His *Glory*, and goes on, breaks through the *ſtraits*, as you will doe through a ſpiders web. Hee feares *God*, of whom ſhould he be afraid? He fears *God*, he keeps himſelfe from every evill work, though he might commit it in ſecret, (*d*) no eye upon him, His Lords eye, Which *runs through the world*, (*e*) That is upon him, That awes him, even to the obſerving his thoughts, and bringing them into ſubjection, and them moſt of all. So he *feares* GOD, And the Armies of men, or Devils, not ſo much as the wicked have feared an Army of flies. Let (*f*) *ſinners in* ZION, who ſeeme to maintain the eſtabliſhed Religion with their mouth, and perſecute it with their hand, let them be afraid, *fearfulneſſe muſt ſurpriſe the Hypocrites*, thoſe that profeſſe one thing, and doe another: But this man feares *God*, that is, *He walks righteouſly, ſpeaketh uprightly, deſpiſeth the gaine of oppreſſions, ſhaketh his hands from holding of bribes, ſtoppeth his eare from hearing of bloud*, (Oh how far is he from ſhedding of it!) *ſhutteth his eye from ſeeing evill.* Reade on. *He ſhall dwell on high, his defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, bread ſhall be given him, and his waters ſhall be ſure.* And he is ſure of all this, for he *feares* GOD, and all we reade before is but the reſult of that *feare*. Why then, Lions, and Beares, and Wolves, and Foxes, I meane (for ſo the Scripture doth) by theſe, bloody and treacherous

(*d*) Levit. 19. 14

(*e*) 2 Chron. 26. 9.

(*f*) Eſai. 33. 14.

ver. 15.

ver. 16.

rous men, theſe may be hungry and ſtarved too, they may feare famine. The righteous, who feare God, they feare it not; In famine, that is, in every extremity, they ſhall be provided for, they ſhall have *enough*, for they have *God*, and he is *All*. I will contract. Indeed, and in truth, the *feare of* GOD (for it contains the whole Duty of man) is *excellent*.

Fides famem non metuit. Hieron.

Now I know what All will ſay; for I know their hearts and their language there by my owne. I and every man will ſay for himſelf, *I feare* GOD too, that I do: hee that feares not an oath, (that is too paticular) he that feares not to ſin before The Lord; nay, he, that doth violence to the law, and ſheds blood to his power, the Man that neither feareth God nor reverenceth man, wil ſay, I *feare* GOD too. It is as commonly ſaid as any thing in the world, for every man ſayes it, as was ſaid, and anſwered before. It is not conſiderable then what men *ſay*, but what men *doe*; not what they profeſſe with the tongue, but what they act with the hand. They profeſſe, ſaith *Paul*, that they *feare* GOD, (for they that *know* GOD, *feare Him*) but *in works they deny Him, being abominable, and diſobedient, and unto every good worke, reprobate*. They walk cleane contrary to that man, that *feares God*, (wee heard how he walketh, and how he ſpeaketh) and yet they *feare* GOD. It is but a bare profeſſion ſo, with the mouth onely. But obſerve what their caſe will be when their (*b*) *mouth* commeth, and they muſt caſt-out their ſorrows, they will be *afraid*; then *fearfulneſſe will ſurpriſe them*, and heare them what they ſay; *Who among us ſhall dwell with the devouring fire? Who among us ſhall dwell with the everlaſting burnings?* And ſo much be ſpoken to my owne heart, and to theirs, who profeſſe to *feare* GOD, yet walk ſo notoriouſly contrary to what they doe profeſſe.

Titus 1.16.

(*b*) Jer. 2.24.

Eſai. 33.14.

We alſo, who, not perhaps ſo notoriouſly wicked, yet are pretenders to this HOLY AFFECTION, (profeſſing wee *feare* GOD, when indeed it is not ſo) we doe not feare Him in *Power*, which appeares thus: When danger preſents its ſelfe, where are we then? Almoſt dead with feare, which could not be, if we feared GOD in *Power*. When trouble ſhews it ſelfe, we ſhake at it as at ſome new and ſtrange thing, never looked for, nor feared till it come: And theſe ſhaking fits declare, That we, whatſoever we ſay and pretend, do not *feare* GOD: *feare* will

not

Eccleſ.10.8. not be concealed no more then folly can; when *he that is afraid, walketh by the way, his wiſdom faileth him, and he ſaith to every one he is afraid:* And he can give a Reaſon for his feare, which is this, That hell is let looſe now, and Divels are broke-in amongſt us, in the ſhape and likeneſſe of men. Grant it to be ſo, as ſo it is, yet the Righteous (he that feareth God in Power) feareth not, (that is) he is not void of feare, but he is above his feare, he is as bold as a Lion, for he *feareth* GOD; how? *As God:* That calmes and quieteth his ſpirit: we do not as the Righteous do, maintaine the feare of *God*; Set up *God* ruling as chiefe over all. Certaine it is They that feare *God* indeed *as* GOD do ſo: do ſet Him up in their hearts, and ſo ruling in the world. They that feare the Creature, do ſet the Creature above *God:* they make *God* the Vial, and Man the pourer forth of the wrath: whereas it is cleane contrary. And, Oh! the torment they feele within (if their hearts be not as *Nabals* was, like a ſtone) when terrour is round about! They ſhewed themſelves *gods* againſt GOD: and now they ſhew themſelves ſlaves towards men, whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten. *Who art thou that thou art afraid of a man?* (g) Reade and reſolve that Queſtion. He that forgetteth The LORD his Maker, makes no more account of *Him*, then of a meer man, nor ſo much neither, though He ſtretched forth the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth: and makes a meere man a *God*, heightens that low and *diminutive* thing (for, in Compariſon, he is a very ſmall thing, very little more then nothing, not ſo big as a drop of water, or the ſmall duſt of the Ballance) (h) *that ſhall dye, and be made as graſſe*; A goodly thing, if we obſerve it well, to make our object, to ſet our feare upon. O wonderfull Ignorance of our ſelves, and of *God*! Ai, It is want of knowledge, therefore we ſet our feare upon periſhing things, and we periſh with them. Truely upon due conſideration, *who* would not *feare Thee* O Lord? He hath ſaid ten times, *feare not*; (i) *I am thy God: I am with thee, I will uphold thee, &c. I am God*, and *Thy God*, It is enough. He created the *Smith* (k) that blowes the coale. He is The *Lord Generall* of all the forces of Heaven, Earth, and Sea; Maſter of the *Armoryes*: There is not a Sword, not an inſtrument there, but it is for His Work, He gives it forth, ſtamps His Commiſſion upon it, *Go ſo far, do this, and no more; not an inch farther, not to the loſſe of a haire more*

(g) Eſai.51.12.

(h) Eſay.40.15.

(i) Eſai.41.10.

(k) Eſai.54.16. Jer.50.25.

more; no marvaile, The Righteous are as bold as a Lion, they fear nothing, for they feare GOD: They *Sanctify the Lord of Hoſts Himſelfe.* What then? Then He will *be a Sanctuary*, The Righteous know it, they are aſſured of it, and it is enough to quiet and calme the ſpirit, when the Earth is moved, and the *Nations are angry.* Eſay 8.13.

This will ſeeme ſtrange, which follows, THE RIGHTEOUS ARE NEVER SO SAFE AND SECURE AS IN AN EARTHQUAKE. And yet, why ſhould it ſeeme ſtrange? It is demonſtrated and made evident to ſenſe and reaſon. In a ſhaking Time, when the Kingdoms are moved; Nay in that time, which is not yet come, but haſting and comming apace, when there will be *a great earth-quake, ſuch as was not ſince men were upon the earth, ſo mighty an earthquake and ſo great,* The Righteous then will cling the faſter to The Arme of The Almighty, (there is ſecurity you will ſay) And then, at ſuch a time as that, The Arme of the Almighty holds them the faſter: We parents doe ſo; If my childe be in danger, If my childe ſhake, I will hold it faſt, if I can, perhaps I cannot, It is not for want of love, but for want of ſtrength: GOD can hold them faſt, for none can take His children out of His Hands, There is no want in Him, neither of *Love* nor *Power*, Therefore it follows, cleered to ſenſe and reaſon both, *That when the Kingdome is moved, when it totters like a drunken man*, nay, when that *Earth-quake* ſhall be, then the Righteous ſhall ſtand moſt ſtedfaſt, ſecure, and ſteady, even then when that Earth-quake ſhall be, ſo mighty an Earth-quake and ſo great, never ſo ſecure as then, then they ſhall lift up the head, for then they hold faſt by Gods Arme, and they finde by good experience, that he holds them faſt. Revel. 16.18.

I *feare* GOD, ſaid *Ioſeph* (*a*) I am an Hebrew ſaid *Ionah* (*b*) and *I feare The Lord God of Heaven, Who hath made the Sea and the dry land.* This put in ſecurity for them both, That, though they might be overcome through infirmities, yet willingly they would doe no wrong. But that is not the point we are now upon, This is it, which is cleere from hence, That the true feare of *God* ſecureth the ſervants of The *Lord*, againſt the wrong and injurious dealing from man. Man (for his mercies are cruell) (*a*) Gen. 42.18. (*b*) Jonah. 1. 8.

will doe the faithfull what wrong he can, but he cannot hurt them, nor are they carefull concerning that.

I remember a short Answer from a true servant of GOD to an over-bearing and tyrannicall *Lord, Am not I your head and Commander?* Yes, said the faithfull servant, but your *headship* hath an *Head* That is over you and me both, I FEARE HIM. Cannot I thrust thee into prison? Yes, if *God* will give you leave, and I FEARE HIM: And if He permits you so to doe, yet His *Word* is not bound, nor can His influence be restrained any more then can the influence from the Sunne. *I feare* GOD, said he: and this was all the answer this domineering Lord could get from this good man: For he professed, That no *mans terrour* could make him afraid: The terrour of The LORD, that could doe it; none could daunt his spirit, but He, Who could cast body and soule both into hell. Him indeed he feared with all his heart, his CREATOR, therefore he could not feare his creature. We have here our lesson, if we do thereafter, we may reade our comfort, *Be not afraid of their terrour, neither be troubled, but sanctifie, &c.* We have proceeded in our *Cure* thus farre; Expectation of evill from the world, and of good from a Good *God*, works a great *Cure* of *Feare:* Love to Him, feare of Him, is very soveraigne also. We proceed now to *Trust* in *God*, and that is soveraigne indeed: it establisheth, it fortifies a man mightily, it makes a man stand like Mount Sion, he cannot be moved, for he stands better bottomed then are The everlasting hills or perpetuall mountains.

Κεφαλὴ κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἀεὶ δὲ ἄνευ γνώμης σου γενόσθω μεθ' σου ἄνευ γνώμης σου The head hath an Head; All things shall be done as you will have it, but thou must command as God will have it. *Chrysost.*

1 Pet. 3.14.

Hab. 3.6.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Righteous are faithfull, they truſt God: He never deceives them, that truſt in Him: They commit all to Him, ſecured in His faithfulneſſe.

THe Righteous, they *Truſt* GOD, and They know Whom they have truſted, To whom they have committed their lives, liberties, and eſtates, their children, all they have; and they know He is faithfull and true, and now they are feareleſſe, now they heare of robbing, and ſpoiling, and pillaging; nay, though it come home to their own houſes, they can ſuffer the ſpoiling of their goods with joy: They *Truſt God*, He is their Guardian, they are not carefull, they are, as was ſaid, *feareleſſe*. Maſter *Dearing* hath an excellent Speech, indeed he was an "excellent man; Commit your health, your ſickneſſe, your bo- Lett. 13.
"dy, your Soul, your life, and your death to the protection of Him,
"That dyed for us, and is riſen againe: A ſick body (let me ſay
"with reference to the preſent, a perſon, an houſe marked out
"by the ſpoilers) with ſuch an *aid*, hath a greater treaſure then
'the Queens Iewell-houſe. It hath indeed, a greater treaſure then hath the Kings Iewell-houſe. That houſe may be emptied of the treaſure there: He may make an hole in all our Ciſterns, and let-out all our comforts. All ſuccours from earth may fail, nay the heart, and that is the ſtrongeſt Fort, may faile, but *God* never failes. *Truſt in the Lord for ever.* Why for ever? There Eſay 26.4.
is a mighty reaſon or ground for everlaſting Truſt, becauſe in
The LORD JEHOVAH *is* EVERLASTING STRENGTH. Pſal. 23.4.
I will feare no evill, ſaith *David*. A very bold and confident ſpeech. *Feare no evill!* He might ſit in darkneſſe, walk in the ſhadow of death, the rod might be ſore upon his back, much evill might be towards him, and much might be upon him, and yet *feare no evill?* No, for what-ever befell him, it was The *Lord*, from His hand, His rod, and where-ever he ſate, and whereſo-ever he walkt, *God* was with him, *Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy ſtaffe, they comfort me.* WHAT TIME I AM AFRAID, Pſal. 56.3.

I WILL TRUST IN THEE. Ai, it was a point of great
Jer 3.23. diſcretion, To truſt in The *Lord*. Truly *in vaine is ſalvation hoped for from the hils, and from the multitude of mountaines: Truly in The* LORD *our* GOD *is the ſalvation of Iſrael*. Then truly, ſaith the Godly man, *When I am afraid*, when I ſee all things out of courſe, I will *truſt* IN *The Lord*; He will doe all things well, and all thoſe contrarieties of wills, and workings, ſhall work together for the good of all them that Truſt in Him, (whereof anon.) Therefore I will truſt in The *Lord* for ever: I will commit life and livelihood all to Him, A faithfull Creator, and I know Him to be ſo. *When I am afraid, I will truſt in Thee*. So the godly man hath made his concluſion, thereon he reſteth his ſoule, and is confident, as bold as a Lion, for he
Pſal 91.2. doth *Truſt* in *The Lord*. *I will ſay of The* LORD, HE IS MY REFUGE, *and my* FORTRESSE, MY GOD, *in Him will I truſt*. Will he ſo? Is the good man reſolved upon it, That he will truſt in GOD? Yes, that is plaine in the Text. Now mark, *God* will not deceive this Truſt. Indeed an honeſt man will not, he will not deceive me, if I truſt in him; much leſſe will GOD doe it, a faithfull Creator. NOW The *Lord* will
Job.5.19. deliver *this man*, how often? as often as he falls into the ſtraits. *In ſixe troubles, yea in ſeven there ſhall no evill come unto him:* (That is) Neither devils, nor men, neither their counſels, nor their ſtrength, neither ſword, nor peſtilence, nor devouring beaſts, ſhall be able to doe this man any hurt. If the devour-
Jer.46.16. ing peſtilence, if the *oppreſſing* ſword, if famine, if wild beaſts, (thoſe foure ſore judgements) come into the Land, (a noble Scholler calls theſe plagues, the *great winding ſheets of the world*) theſe ſhall doe this man no *hurt*. Obſerve what you reade, The *terrors by night* ſhall not affray this man, nor the *arrow*
Pſal 91. by day, nor the *peſtilence that walketh in darkneſſe*, nor the *deſtruction that waſteth at noon day*.

True, you will ſay, none of all this ſhall hurt this man, for all
(*a*) 1 Chron. 21.12. this is more immediately the *Sword of the Lord* (*a*) the very *Hand* of *God*: (*b*) and The *Lord* will order it ſo, That His *Sword*
(*b*) ver.13. ſhall not ſlay this man; His *Hand* ſhall not hurt him. But this man muſt looke that the *ſword* of the enemies will overtake him; he muſt looke to fight with men after the manner of Beaſts, they will

will hurt him ſure, for they are Adverſaries, and for their might and cruelty called *Lyons*, and *Adders*, and *Dragons*, theſe will hurt this man ſure enough.

No, all theſe, with all their might and malice too, ſhall not *hurt* this man: But he ſhall *hurt* them, he ſhall wound them in the *head*, which is the ſeate of life; *He ſhall tread upon the Lion and the Adder, the young Lyon and the Dragon ſhalt thou* TRAMPLE *under foot.* And why ſhall this man be ſo delivered, and be ſo victorious? That is worth the enquiring unto; it is anſwered; Becauſe this man made *The* LORD *his refuge*, even the moſt HIGH *his habitation: Therefore ſhall no evill befall him*; becauſe this man hath *ſet* his LOVE, his *Heart*, his *Delight*, his *Hope*, his *Truſt*, he hath ſet *All* upon GOD, Therefore *God* will deliver him: This man hath *exalted* GOD above all *gods*; He hath ſet Him *on high*, he hath *knowne His Name*, (that is) hee hath truſted in *Him*; Therefore will The *Lord* ſet this man on *high*; he ſhall ride upon the high places of the earth, over the heads of his Adverſaries, *Becauſe he hath knowne My Name.* O Bleſſed man, and in a bleſſed condition! for he had covered himſelfe with the Armes of the Almighty, and under that ſhelter he doth truſt. What then? It follows; *His Truth ſhall be Thy Shield and Buckler.* A weake and fooliſh Queſtion will thruſt in here, I will quickly reſolve it. Pſal. 91. 1. ver. 9.

Queſt. May we not truſt in the creature? in meanes, they may be faire and likely; In inſtruments, theſe are honourable and ſpecious; may we not truſt in theſe?

Anſ. No, Be theſe inſtruments or meanes never ſo excellent and glorious, yet they are but fleſh, we muſt not truſt in them. Never did any man from the beginning of time to this Day, proſper that put his truſt in meanes, in inſtruments. *Some truſt in chariots and ſome in horſes.* (*b*) And what of them? how ſpeede they? They are *brought downe and fallen.* (*c*) nay, there is a curſe upon them, that truſt in man, and make *fleſh* their *Arme.* (*d*) And this curſe muſt needes overtake them, *For their heart departeth from the* LORD: Then to reſolve the queſtion, we may eſteeme honourably of the inſtruments, but wee muſt ſet GOD above them; We muſt ſet Him on high, as we read before; we muſt praiſe GOD for them; we muſt not *Idolize* them: we (*b*) Pſal. 20. 7. (*c*) v. 8. (*d*) Jer. 17. 5.

muſt uſe the meanes; we muſt not truſt in them: we muſt give the inſtrument his due praiſe, but all the *glory to* GOD. There is another Queſtion more worthie the reſolving.

It is commonly ſaid by every man, I doe *truſt in* GOD. But wilt thou know, O man, whether thou doeſt as thou ſayeſt? Try thy ſelfe by this, and deale truly with thy owne ſoule. Where art thou when the LORD takes away the *ſtay* and the *ſtaffe*, the whole *ſtay* of *bread*, and *the* whole *ſtay* of *water* (that is) every thing, that thy ſoule tooke delight in, being but *fleſh*, where art thou then? upon the ground, a dejected man, thy ſpirit is quite fallen; why then aſſure thy ſelfe, thou didſt make *fleſh* thy foote and thy arme too, thereon thou didſt truſt, and not on GOD: *Fleſh* upheld thee, and not *ſpirit*: hadſt thou truſted in GOD, He had upheld thee now, never more firmely then when the *ſtay* and *ſtaffe* of the creature is taken away: Then The *Arme* of the *Lord* upholds moſt gloriouſly, when it ſuſtaines alone, made bare of fleſh. I know ſome ſuddain diſaſter, ſome unexpected breach (yet nothing is ſuddain or unexpected to a faithfull man) may make his confidence quaile, and his ſpirit fall: but if he fall flat, and there lye with his face upon the ground, and upon ſerious conſiderations, cannot raiſe himſelfe and get up his ſpirit, then certain it is, The creature was his ſtay and confidence. I meane thus, If when the ſtay and ſtaffe is taken away, the heart fainteth away and dyes. If the ſpirits be ſunke then, they will not up again, then certain it is, That *ſtay* and *ſtaffe*, be it the *wedge* of gold, *husband*, *wife*, or *childe*, that was the prop that ſtayed the heart up: but now theſe *bearers*, theſe *ſupporters* are taken away, the perſon is down, his ſpirit flat and ſunke.

Eſay 3.1.

But thou maiſt ſay, Thou waſt never put to that ſtrait yet; God never yet tooke from thee the *ſtay* and *ſtaffe*. Say, Bleſſed be His Name. And yet doe not *truſt* to this *truſt*, doe not bee confident of this ſtrength. It is not tryed yet as gold in the Furnace. That which holds thee up now, may not be ſufficient in the day of Trouble. Thou thinkeſt now, That Thou doeſt truſt in *God*, and He upholds thy Spirit, whereas perhaps the creature is thy ſtay and thy ſtaffe; Examine the truth of this betimes, and take all advantage of experiences from what GOD hath done, and from promiſes what He will doe, and all to make improvement

ment of this *Truſt in God.* Till our ſtrength be tryed, till we have ſome experience, we cannot tell how great the rebellion of the fleſh will be under *Gods* afflicting hand. It is an eaſie thing to be valiant before the combat, to dreame of a good courage before the heart be tryed, : but indeed To bee unſhaken in the midſt of a tempeſt; and To ſtand upright, when the ground under us doth tremble, This is to know aſſuredly That we are ſtrong indeed, That we have boldneſſe and can truſt *perfectly*.

Surely never was there more cauſe then at this time, To *ſet our hope* in GOD, To make good our confidence, To exerciſe this grace of *faith* and *truſt*, To looke back to what *God* hath done, how wonderfull He hath wrought for thoſe that put their truſt in Him: And ſo to gather experience, that is a great meanes to ſupport the heart, and to engage it to truſt in *God*.

I remember a paſſage, which ſurely is worth the noting, this it is. *David* comes haſtily to *Abimeleck*, and after ſome greeting, and ſome other paſſages betwixt them, demands of the Prieſt, *Whether he could help him to a ſword?* Yes, ſaid the Prieſt, here is in my keeping *The ſword of Goliah the Philiſtine, whom* THOU SLEWEST: If thou wilt take that, take it, for here is no other. No other, thought *David*, (for ſo he ſaid) if thou hadſt all the ſwords in the world, yet there is none LIKE THAT, *give it me.* And why ſo? There were other *Giants* in the world, and other *ſwords* as great as that, why *none like that?* The Text reſolves it, That was the ſword wherewith *David* ſlew *Goliah* the Philiſtine. *None like that* ſword, That revived *Davids* ſpirits (indeed they were fainting) with the ſenſe of experience of GODS faithfulneſſe: He had wrought wonderfully for *David*, a weakling, and yet He gave him ſtrength to ſlay the Giant with his owne ſword; none *like that*; a double weapon with a double edge, it had ſlaine behind him, it would ſlay before him: *God* had delivered him from *ſuch a death*, and there was the ſword now in his hand, a memoriall of *ſuch a deliverance*, He would put his Truſt in GOD for after-time. This is the Poynt then we are engaged upon, even To put our Truſt in GOD: and, that we may do ſo, To Conſider well what *God* hath done, and then To exerciſe our *faith* upon it, for the better improvement of our *Truſt in Him.*

1 Sam. 21. verſe 9.

Surely

Surely the very ſet time is now come, That ſo we ſhould doe, improve our *Truſt* in GOD, *live by faith now*, (that is) live upon *God*, with *God*, in *God*, to *God*; to make up a life in Him alone. Therein is aſſurance, and ſtrength, *ſtrong confidence:* (*a*) And *The* LORD *will reject all other confidences*, (*b*) ſo as *man ſhall not be held up by them, nor proſper in them.*

(*a*) Pro.14.26.
(*b*) Jer.2.37.

Ob. You will ſay, you muſt have FAITH firſt before you can exerciſe it, and live upon it.

Anſ. True, and before you have it, you ſhall know how you got it. It is an *admirable* grace, and wrought by the *operation*, (*c*) effectuall working of *God*, (the great Worke of *God*) but we muſt worke too, uſe all diligence, and all the meanes *God* hath ſanctified for the getting of the ſame; uſe the means faithfully, and you ſhall get the Treaſure, a Treaſure indeed, ſuch as we heard. A man may live upon it, if he have nothing elſe. *Cry after this grace, lift up thy voice for it, as for hid treaſure,* (it is the gift of *God*) but ſo it muſt be ſought for, or it will never be had; it is the principall thing, with all thy getting, get *faith*.

(*c*) Coloſ 2.12. Διὰ τ πίστεως τ ἐνεργείας τ Θεᾶ.

You will ſay, There is need of *Patience* too. Yes, and that it hath a perfect work to calm, quiet, and ſilence the reaſoning of our ſpirits. There is no poſſeſſing of a mans ſoule without *patience*, ſpecially now in ſuch a *perilous*, and *exceeding* (*e*) *feirce time* as this is, now the Divell is looſe, and rageth amongſt us; great need of *Patience*. Yet, I ſay, we ſtand in more need of *faith*, for there is no grace like that at this time. *Thou ſhalt forgive Thy Brother ſeven and ſeven times, ſaith the* LORD CHRIST. We would think this would follow now, LORD ENCREASE OUR LOVE; let that have a perfect work, that we may forgive an offender even ſo often; But the Apoſtles ſaid, *Lord increaſe our faith*: Yes, That is the mother grace, get that, ſtrengthen that, all is done. Shee is a mother in Iſrael, never alone, but honourably accompanied ſtill with her children, *Patience, Meekeneſſe, Love, Hope, Joy*, all theſe. Would I then reſt quietly in a ſtormy night, when the winds blow, the raine and haile beat upon my houſe; would I be ſecure when terrour is round about; would I ſtand ſtill, unmoveable in an *earth-quake*? Then I muſt ſay when I cloſe mine eyes, and when I awaken, *Lord encreaſe my faith*. You have need of *faith*; It is impoſſible to do or ſuffer any thing with-

χαλεπὸι λίαν. Mat.8.28.

Luke 17.4.

without it, but, by it, All things are done and ſuffered, that we thinke impoſſible and moſt terrible: but nothing is impoſſible to *faith*: Therefore we muſt cry after this grace, and lift up our prayer for it; it is life *unto the ſoule, and grace to the neck*: Thereby we walk in our way ſafely, and at the end, we lye downe, and are not afraid: for *faith* makes The LORD our *confidence*, and therefore we will ſay evermore, *Lord encreaſe our faith*, it is the onely neceſſary thing: For, Prov. 3. 22. Job 18. 14.

Firſt, it purifieth the heart, it *ſubdues iniquity*, it overcomes the world, nay it gives you victory over the King of terrors: I doe not meane *Death*, though that is a moſt terrible King, but *Sin*, which is the ſtrength and ſting of death, which makes a man ſeek for death as for hid treaſure, that he might be rid of thoſe thoughts of eternity, which is are the poiſon of vipers, and *gall* of Aſps. It ſets an edge upon our feares and our ſorrows. This evill, a pure evill, *Faith* ſubdueth and maſtereth through *Chriſt*, in the *power of His might*, and ſo we are made more *then Conquerours*, by laying hold-faſt on Him, The Rock of our ſalvation.

Secondly, Faith bottomes the heart upon GOD, which was ſaid before, and Faith encourageth the heart to duty (which follows) To live to *God*, To improve all we have and are To His *Glory*; ſo aſſureth the perſon, as He walks before Him here now, ſo he ſhall live in Glory for ever with The *Lord*. Faith then is the principall thing, that excellent, that admiring grace, get that, and we have all things compleatly fitted both to do or to ſuffer as good ſouldiers of Jeſus Chriſt. I will ſhut up this with the words wherewith the righteous have concluded their Pſalme, and cloſed up their hearts againſt feare, *Our heart ſhall rejoyce in Him: becauſe we have truſted in His holy Name. Let thy mercy, O* Lord, *be upon us, according as we hope in thee.* Pſal. 33. 21, 22

CHAP. V.

The Righteous obey from the heart: True ſound and ſincere obedience is never found but in keeping to Gods *Work, and in His way: They meet with Lions and Bears there, but they have a ſafeguard over them, and are not afraid: They are ſure they are in their way, and upon Duty, which muſt be done, and the work proſper and increaſe with the increaſe of* God: *And all this in the fitteſt time, when the Adverſary ſhall be moſt confounded, and* God *moſt glorified.*

(a) Rom. 6. 17. THe Righteous *obey* from *the* (*a*) *heart.* An hearty obedience, that is obedience indeed, and it is ever found in GODS *way* and Work. Such an obedience then, a walking in GODS *way*, an engaging the heart to GODS *worke*, is a ſoveraigne meanes To quiet and calme the ſpirit, when here is trouble on every ſide. For thus The righteous man reaſoneth; Some Lion, ſome *Eſau*, ſome fierce Adverſary, ſome great trouble or croſſe may meet me in my way: Yes, but I am in GODS way, I am doing my duty, let GOD alone for the reſt; He will work for my comfort. As the valiant Romane ſaid (I allude to it) when it was told him, That the enemie would be upon his back quickly, *Let him come*, ſaid he, *I will keep to my ſervice, I will do my duty* for all that. I would rather inſtance in *Nehemiah*; he ſaw and heard enough to have daunted any mans ſpirit, that was not *ſuch a man as himſelfe*, That had not *another ſpirit*, and could ſet his *face like a flint*: And yet he was not *carefull*, he was not *afraid*, ſhould ſuch a man as he feare, imployed in GODS *worke*, and in His *way*? Should he fly? No not he. Let the adverſary rage, and roare, and ſend, and write, and flatter, and lye, and ſlander, and blaſpheme, (the adverſaries did all this, and more) yet he would to his *worke*, and abide by it, for he was upon Temple-work, a ſworne Man to doe his *Lord* ſervice; And this *Lord* hath ſworne to protect that man. Truly it is ſo. Let a Lion, a ſhe-beare, or the devill meet ſuch a perſon, croſſe him in the way, he need not be carefull nor afraid, being groundedly reſol-

Ego autem Sacrifico.

ved

ved of this, I am in *Gods* way, upon His worke. O let me be ſtil found *ſo doing*. What? GODS work, and in His way; a mighty comfort this. It is as a Cordiall to the heart, when we ſuffer from the hand there; That there and then we have done our duty, *Gods work* in *Gods way*, ſo *obeying from the heart*. The Angels are a ſafeguard about us; They beare us up: what would we have more for our ſecurity? The caſe is evident, it is an exceeding comfort, a marvailous eſtabliſhment to a man ſurrounded with terrors, That he is in GODS *way*, upon His *worke*. It is a Soveraigne Cordiall now in theſe perilous and exceeding feirce times; It ſtayes and chears the heart, and ſilenceth the reaſoning of the Spirit. What? That I am in *Gods* way, and upon His work; *the heart may meditate terrour now, when the Nations are angry*, & Eſa. 33.18. the Kingdom totters like a drunken man. We will conſider with all our hearts the caſe that *Nehemiah* was in, and his courage, for it is very notable; his caſe is the caſe of our Worthies, even of all that are able to ſtand in the gap for the help of the Church: And this time runs parallel with that then, after the very ſame *Line*: Therefore we will heare what *Nehemiah* ſayes, and reaſon the caſe about him. What ſayes he? *Should ſuch a man as I flee?* And *Who is there, that being as I am, would goe into the Temple to ſave his life?* A very bold ſpeech; I pray you, ſince it is not too late, and it may be of much uſe now, let us examine this mans confidence. Neh: 6.11.

Why might not ſuch a man as hee flee? what manner of man was he? A faithfull man; one that feared *God above many*: There is the Anſwer for that. A faithfull man cannot be fearfull; a man full of faith cannot be full of feare: BEING AS I AM; In what a caſe was *Nehemiah* in then? In a very ſad and perplexed caſe ſure; All the reaſon he had, if hee had no more then we have, could not tell him, which way to take; for he had heard no leſſe then *ten times*, That from all places the Adverſary would be upon him: (*e*) And when The Lord brought (*e*) Nehe. 4.12. that counſail to nought, they fell upon another, (The devils mint * *Fabricator.* is ſtill going, his ſervants are ſtill hammering there) *The Ad-* Prov. 6.14. *Adverſary ſent to Nehemiah no leſſe then* FOURE TIMES to procure a brotherly conference about an an *Accommodation* forſooth (but *they thought to doe him* * *miſchiefe*) And when *Ne-* *Chap 6.2.3.4.

hemiah returned the Adverſary ſtill the ſame Anſwer, *Foure times together*, I AM DOING A GREAT WORKE WHICH MUST NOT CEASE, *while I come downe to you to Parley* about an *Accommodation*, (which was never in the adverſaries thoughts, for they THOUGHT *to doe him* MISCHIEFE:)

ver. 5. Then the Adverſary ſent his ſervant the *fift time*, with an open letter in his hand, and a loud lye, a Blaſphemie rather, in

ver. 6, 7. his mouth, which was as we finde it written: (*a*) And all this to make the *Builders afraid, and the worke to ceaſe*; which prevailed

ver. 10. ſo far with *Shemajah*, (I will mention no more of the falſe brethren;) That he pent himſelfe up (like a wiſe man, who was reſolved to ſave one) in a place, which had gates, *Doores, and Barres* (which the City had not at that time:) and he perſwaded *Nehemiah* ſo to doe alſo (by a *Spirit*, as he ſaid, of *Revelation*) To ſlinke aſide from the worke, letting that ceaſe till the brunt of oppoſition were over, and in the meane time provide for his

ver. 10. life, *Let us meete together in the houſe of* GOD *within the Temple, and let us ſhut the doores of the Temple, for they will come to*

ver. 11. *ſlay thee. And Nehemiah ſaid*, No *man, being as I am, would goe into the Temple to ſave his life, I will not goe in.* No truly, *being as I am* I will truſt to an open place, that hath neither Walls nor Bulwarks; I am doing my duty; upon my Maſters worke; in His way, I am doing a great worke, which muſt not reſt, It is not neceſſary that I muſt live (though I know *my times* are (my life is) in my GODS hands, not at the diſpoſe of the Adverſary) but the worke muſt be done, that is neceſſary at this time: *Being as I am* upon This worke, and in This *way*, I will not goe into the Temple to ſave my life, not I. *Should ſuch a man as I flee?* and *being as I am?* No, I Will doe my *Worke*, my *Duty*, I will walke in the way boldly (wherein never man miſcarried yet) and for my poore life (well hazarded in ſuch a worke and ſuch a way) and all my concernements about it; all theſe I have com-

Eſay 26. 1. mitted into His hands, Who is as a ſtrong City; *Salvation* will GOD appoint for *walls* and *Bulwarke*.

There is an end of that diſpute, That I am in *Gods* way, & upon His work, anſwers all doubts, ſilenceth all gainſayers. A man may be reproached and perſecuted, &c. in this way, but he cannot be diſtreſſed there, nor forſaken. The experience of all times, &

of

of all the faithfull in all times will give cleare evidence hereunto.

The practiſe of *Luther* runs parallel with this of *Nehemiah*; Hell gates opened upon him, when he opened his mouth for *God*, and for His *cauſe*, and to promote His *Glory*. It is notable to reade how *Luther* encouraged *Melanchthon* againſt his *oppreſſing feares*, and himſelfe alſo *in The* LORD: The enemy *lives* ſaid *Melanchthon* and is ſtrong: GOD *lives* for ever, anſwered *Luther*, and is *Almighty*. We cannot beare up againſt the tide of ſuch oppoſition, ſaid *Melanchthon*, an excellent man, but his ſpirit was fallen at that time quite: Nor men, nor Devils can hinder now we are in Gods way, and upon His worke, ſaid *Luther*; We carry GOD along with us, His *cauſe* is in our *ſhip*, though the ſtorm riſeth high, yet *God* is above; The floods of ungodlineſſe ſhall not make us afraid: That *God* is with us, (He is with us while we are with Him:) that it is His cauſe we are engaged upon, anſwereth all doubts, ſilenceth the reaſoning of a timerous ſpirit, and fortifies it mightily againſt all diſputes and debates from within the ſoule or from without.

The great queſtion is now, *will God reſtore Ieruſalem*? ſhall her breaches be made up? ſhall her *wall* be raiſed even now? This is the queſtion, and it is much doubted, and the very beſt have carefull thoughts about it. But ſurely they doe not well to be ſo carefull, neither do they wiſely inquire into the matter. It is true; Jeruſalems *wall* and her breaches there, ſhould take up the *firſt-borne* of our thoughts; but not the *time* when, nor the *manner* how theſe breaches ſhall be ſtopped, and the *walls* ſet up. The times and ſeaſons for the accompliſhing hereof, the meanes too, and the manner how, The Father hath *put in* His *own power*. The work goes on a pace; Bleſſed be His Name for all thoſe that have offered themſelves willingly to this worke; I ſay it, goes on with the encreaſe of *God*; and the times are TROUBLOUS, (*d*) which is a good ſigne too. But whether this be the SET time, when GOD will perfect this work, it is not for us to enquire; Think we of doing our duty, and upon our COST; It ſhall be done and perfected in GODS *time*, & that is the beſt time: and for the Church, the very *ſeaſon* of Time, and that we may reſolve upon. The LORD is wiſe *in counſell and mighty in worke*; and there

(*d*) Dan. 9. 25.

there the Church reſteth. He may not do all this, this yeer, or the next, or the third year; for This work, Temple-work, the reſtoreing the Kingdom of Iſrael, goes on *ſurely*, but *ſlowly*; mighty Adverſaries *ſet* themſelves againſt it, and *decree* againſt it, and will hinder as long as *God* pleaſeth, till His *ſet time* comes. Truly we wonder He hath done ſo much for a people at this time, who have done ſo much againſt Him now and in all times: But Now ſets a mark upon our frowardneſſe, and makes it exceeding ſinfull. And yet His patience is not wearied, though at every difficulty, and croſſe way, we are at a ſtand. He works gloriouſly every day, and reviveth ſtill his ſervants hopes: And yet He may
Eſai. 66. 8. not make the earth to bring forth *in one day*, *nor* a Nation to be borne *at once*; and what are a few yeares in His account? not ſo much as a few minutes in ours. The earth ſhall bring forth, even to our largeſt expectation, That is certaine; And the manchilde ſhall be borne perfect and compleate, thats out of doubt: perhaps not ſo ſoone as we would have it, we are too haſty. It may ſeeme to ſtick even at the birth ſo long, that the Adverſary may lift up his horne with faire hopes, That it will never come forth: But it ſhall come forth in due time (thats *Gods* time, and it is His promiſe) when they that ſee it ſhall the *more rejoyce*, the more their ſorrow and anguiſh was becauſe it ſtuck at the birth
ver. 14. ſo long: And *the bones of the Righteous ſhall flouriſh like an Herbe*. Why like an *Herbe*? Becauſe they were dried like an *hearb* with long expectation: for now *The hand of the Lord ſhalbe known* (*the more* gloriouſly the longer the ſtop was) *towards his ſervants, and His Indignation towards His enemies*; for *God* hath given His ſervants leave to make this concluſion from His owne words, "kind and gratious, He hath brought to the Birth, He will give "ſtrength to bring forth (in his appointed time) And there His people ſet up their reſt, doing their Duty, walking in Gods way, and doing His work. And this ſuſtains them in their fainting fits; quiets and ſettles them in troublous times, They do their duty, They are upon their worke, This I ſay, for it cannot be ſaid too often, is as comfortable to them, and cordiall as this remembrance was to the good king, when he heard the ſentence of
2 Kings. 20. 3. Death, Behold Lord I have *walked before Thee in Truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in Thy ſight*.

I may not conclude yet, for there is a great difficulty behind; but Let every man, according to his meaſure, and proportion of gifts, and power *God* hath put into his hand, offer himſelf with a willing mind, wholly up to *God* in His way and *work*, ſo doing his Duty, and committing the iſſue and ſucceſſe to *God*, in aſſurance hereof, That The *Lord* does all things well; orders all for the advancing His own *Glory*, and His Churches good: He will, in His own good time, performe His whole work upon *mount Zion*, and on *Ieruſalem, and then He will puniſh the ſtout hearted, and bring down the Glory of their lookes.* And, in the meane time, for this man, that attends his Duty, minds that wholly; is onely carefull at that point, The *Lord* will guide him with His eye, will uphold him with His hand, ſo as he ſhall not daſh his *foot againſt a ſtone*. Now the difficulty follows, and that will make us daſh and fall too, if we look not to our bottome, and our ſtanding there upon. We ſhall heare now of ſad and grievous things that befell them, which have ſtood to the cauſe of *Chriſt*, and done their duty: But bleſſed be *God*, though wee ſhall heare ſuch things, which ſhall make ſome eares tingle, yet we ſhall not heare, That the righteous have forſaken their *way*, or their *duty*, though they have been *ſore broken in the place of dragons*, and *covered with the ſhadow of death*: YET, no not YET ſhall we heare, *That their heart turned back*, nor that *their feet have declined from* THY WAY: No, though all this, which we ſhall heare, is or may come upon them, what though? YET they are reſolved, as their Fathers before them, The reſolution of a gracious ſpirit ever, To keep cloſe to GOD, and to *Duty*, To *ſtir up themſelves againſt the hypocrite*; (c) *To hold on their way*, for they have *cleane hands*, and cleane hearts, waſhed white in the bloud of the Lambe. What followes? We need not make it a Queſtion, *They ſhall be ſtronger and ſtronger*. Having now premiſed this, I come to that, which is ſaid againſt it, to *ſcare* the fearfull-hearted, mentioning onely that firſt, which occaſioneth it; I had ſaid, rather The *Lord* hath ſaid it for me, *He that keeps cloſe with* GOD, *holds on his way, doth his duty, is reſolved at that point, The* LORD *hath ſworne by His holineſſe, He will uphold this man*, he ſhall not daſh his foot. I will be bold to ſay, This is *good Divinity*, and as comfortable as any you can meet with in all

Eſai. 10. 12.

(b) Pſal. 44. 17. 18. 19.

(c) Iob. 17. 8. 9.

all your readings. Now hearken what is ſaid to *ſcare* the Iſrael of GOD out of it, all His *Antipaſſes* that they may let-in feare, and let goe Duty. The Adverſary ſhall never effect this while hee breathes; with *Gods* help I ſhall be able to beat him with his owne weapons, and fetch comfort, and light, and glory for the righteous, from out of his darkneſſe, and moſt ignominious uſages of Gods people, doing their duty, and holding to His way and work.

But the fearfull have looked upon all this already, and they object,

Ob. He that does his duty, keeping to Gods way and worke, may daſh his foote and fall too, and riſe no more in this world, if he be reſolute upon that way, and to doe his duty therein; as like to daſh upon danger and to be ſwallowed up of it too, in no way more likely then in GODS way, and when we doe our Duty.

1 Cor. 11. Take we for example the Patirarchs, Prophets, Apoſtles, that cloude of witneſſes in the little booke of Martyrs, they walked in *Gods* way and did their *Duty*, and did they not daſh upon danger? To come neerer to our own times. Looke upon thoſe TWO WITNESSES, thoſe few* *Antipaſſes*, faithful Magiſtrates; and faithfull, Miniſters, and faithfull people, oppoſing, in all ages of the world, upward to this day, and ſo will all their Dayes, *Roome* and their abominable Idolatries, and then you will ſay they doe their Duty and are in *Gods way*; But ſee I pray you, and marké well how they are uſed, you would not uſe a Dog ſo; And ſee where they lye, A goodly recompence for doing their *Duty*, and walking in *Gods* way, will the world ſay.

* *Vocatur* Antipas *non filio ſed vero nomine: tot pene literis & ſyllabis Martyres hujus temporis declarat fore* Antipapas. Revel. 2. 13.

Anſw. No matter what the world ſaies, not a pin matter, nor how they uſe the ſervants of *God*: They are *vile* and *refuſe* with the world, becauſe they doe their Duty, and are the excellent there, not *of the world*: A ſure Teſtimony of perdition to the world of ungodly men, whoſe *ſuperſtitions* may be out of *ignorance*, but their *cruelty* is out of *malice*. But to the point. It is granted, That if ever the Devil, (that Legion, for I mean with him, all his ſervants) ſtand with open mouth and out-ſtretched arme againſt a man; it is then, when he walks in GODS *way*, and doth his *Duty*. The wicked are carryed with an indignation againſt no *way*, no *work* but that, onely becauſe it is an *holy way*, and a *godly work*. There-

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fore a way of *ſuffering* it may be, a way of *periſhing* it cannot be.

Not a periſhing way! See yonder, *The Beaſt ſhall make war againſt them, ſhall overcome them and kill them*; Then ſee where their bodies lye, and how long, and how merry the Adverſary is over them, very jocund and glad when he hath done ſuch an exploit upon thoſe that *tormented them*. *Ob.* Rev.11.7.

We have a proverbe, he that *laughs after laughs too*, and more heartily; he that laughs before, is as he that girdeth-on his harnes, he knows not what may happen to damp his mirth: But he that laughes after ſees all clear before him, and is as he, that putteth his harneſſe off. Certainly, for It was never queſtioned yet, Theſe *witneſſes* ſhall have their time again to laugh, when the Adverſaries ſhall *gnaw* their *tongues for paine*. But to the point. We have ſeene the worſt that can befall the men of GOD in GODS *way* and upon His *worke*; and how ſmall a thing do we ſee? Some *Dead bodies*. I muſt take leave now, To ſpeake according to my underſtanding and to his capacity, alſo who, if he meets with a *Dead body*, takes it to be a *Carkeſſe*, all life is gone: Doubtleſſe theſe are not *carkeſſes*, *for* if ſo, They had not layne ſo long above ground, in the *ſtreet of the great Citty*: nor had the Adverſary any Cauſe to *rejoyce over them* (indeed he hath not, but I ſpeake with reſpect to the offence of a *dead body*, lying uncovered) or hinder their bodies *to be put in the graves*. (c) They were *myſtically* dead ſure, for ſuch alſo is their *reſurrection*, their coming to *life again*: I think thus it was, and yet I cannot expreſſe it in words what *Antichriſtian Rome*, far more cruel then *heathenish Rome*: (She was a Dragon fell and Cruell, but not ſo Cruell, as a *Lamb* with *hornes*, as Shee is, that looks like a ſheepe, and is ſo in her clothing, but inwardly is a greevous wolfe: O beware of her, and her Religion: ſhe is MYSTERY BABYLON the GREAT, *The mother of Harlots*, *And abominations of the earth*, and hath no more good in her, then what can be found in the *bottomleſſe pit*, from whence her Power and Authority *aſcendeth*.) I was ſaying, That *death* there is not properly ſo called; but *myſtically*; thus I thinke it was, Rome with her ſworne ſervants, hath done (and will doe) all the indignities, that are Imaginable againſt theſe *witneſſes*, *ſuſpending*, *putting out of office*, *Defaming*, *Defacing*, *Degrading*; Truly I know not what, but what *Rome* *Anſ.* (c) Rev. 11.9. Rev.17.5. Rev.11.7.

(that delights in proud wrath) could doe, ſhee hath done, and will doe againſt theſe witneſſes. And how far doth their malice reach? To the *Body*, no farther: And that was *Dead* in *law* before (the *Body is dead becauſe of ſin*) The *Body*, It is GODS building, we muſt thinke and eſteeme honourably of it, for it ſhall be a *Glorious body*: but as it is here, and in compariſon, the people of GOD put little or no account upon it, and it is according to the Spirits allowance; The Body is not mentioned in the Scripture, but with this addition, a *Dead, a vile, a corruptible Bodie*: The *Soule* ſtands for All, and indeed it is All, that we might put eſteeme upon it more then upon all the world. We ſee *Bodies* and *dead* bodies there, then the Adverſary can but kill the *Bodie*, their proud wrath can reach no farther: They can but take downe that Tabernacle, which, had it ſtood a little longer, would have fel of its ſelf; God has never given a man His ſecurity, That his Body ſhall be kept from periſhing. The ſtreame of the promiſe runs ſtill towards the *Soule*; I was in the very mouth of Danger, ſayes *Paul*, almoſt ſwallowed up there: I was delivered at *that time*: *Nero* (he was the Lyon) had not power over me at that time: And the LORD ſhall *deliver me, there* is his ſecurity: from what? from *Nero*? No, hee ſayes not ſo; for at length (when *Paul* had finiſhed his *teſtimony*) he was given up to that devourer: The *Lord ſhall deliver me from every evill worke*: An evil worke, a complying with the workers of iniquity, and with their wicked wayes, that is worſe then the *Devourers* mouth, a thouſand times worſe: ſo nor *Paul* nor the *witneſſes* did doe. Now take all, *will preſerve me to His heavenly Kingdome*, Thats all indeed; and makes amends for all, *will preſerve me to His heavenly Kingdom*, where the *dead bodies* now, that have all the diſhonours put upon them, that are conceivable, ſhall be glorious Bodies. We have viewed the *Bodies*, now we conſider where they lie.

2 Tim. 4. 17.

2 Where lye they? In *the ſtreet*, All the diſgrace that can bee imagined ſhall be put upon them, that will doe their Duty, if they come into their Adverſaries hand, and it ſhall be done againſt them in the *openeſt place*, where the Adverſary may glut his eye in the exerciſe of *proud wrath*, wherewith his heart is filled. To expreſſe it as we read, The Adverſary having made himſelfe drunke with blood, will make theſe *witneſſes* a GA-

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ZIMG-STOCK, by *reproches and afflictions; a ſpectacle to the world, Angels and men.* (d) Why then, who is on Gods ſide, who? he that is reſolved to take Gods part muſt expect ſuch uſage, but then he may expect ſuch an exceeding and ſuperlative comfort as will countervail and make amends for all. If all the comforts in the world were diſtilled into one *elixir*, & put into theſe witneſſes hands, it would not be ſo cordiall as this which follows; All this villanous uſage upon theſe *Bodies* ſhall bee done; where? where *alſo our* LORD CHRIST *was Crucified*. That was without the Gates of Jeruſalem. True; and without the territories too, by a *Law* not their own, for the *Iews* could put no man to Death, but from *Ceſar Tiberius*, he was the Emperour in Rome; It is very comfortable: what follows? There alſo our *Lord was Crucified*: *But rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſts ſufferings; that when His glory ſhall be revealed, ye may be glad alſo with exceeding joy.* Who would not rejoyce to be put to *open ſhame* for *Chriſt*, where Chriſt was put to open ſhame for him? A great *Commander* refuſed a Crowne of gold in that place, where the *Lord* Chriſt had put upon him a Crowne of thornes. There is a continuall ſpring of comfort from thence, which abundantly makes amends for all the *proud wrath*, put forth againſt theſe *Bodies*, in the *ſtreet of the great City: There alſo our Lord was crucified.* They ſhall ſuffer no more, but what their *Lord* hath ſuffered before them; and in that He hath ſuffered that *ſhame*, He ſuffered it for them, that their ſhame now might be their *glory*. Truly there is a comfort contained in theſe words, that is not expreſſible but by the mouthes of theſe *witneſſes*; And they felt it then, even a joy unſpeakable. I ſay then, when that *wicked woman*, that abominable ſtrumpet, with her lovers, were ſo jocund and joyfull over them, making *merry and ſending gifts one to another*: for this is a concluſion of experience, That GOD leaves not His *Servants* (*Orphanes*) *comfortleſſe*: At ſuch a time as this, when they are in the eyes of man, *fatherleſſe*, friendleſſe, helpleſſe, in the hands of *proud wrath*, exerciſing all the indignities, that are imaginable upon them, and glutting their eye therewith, then they are *orphans*, (you will ſay) for all have left them, and there they lie as you ſee. But now marke the promiſe, *I will not leave you* (*Orphans*) *comfortleſſe: I will come*

(d) Heb. 10. 33. 1 Cor. 4. 9.

1 Pet. 4. 13.

1 Pet. 4. 13.

Rev. 11. 10.

John. 14. 18. *appears.*

ἐφ' ἅπαξ.

God ſpeaks to His people moſt comfortably in a Wilderneſſe. The ſweeteſt comforts come forth of the greateſt ſtraits.

to you: nay He is come, it is in the preſent tenſe, now He is come in, for all the creature-comforts are gone forth, then *God* comes in, in that ſeaſon and nick of time: And if there be any comfort in His preſence, as ſure there is, for He is The *God* of comforts, and the Father, not of ſome, but of *all conſolations*: then they are ſure to find it at ſuch a time, when they are, in the eye of the world, *comfortleſſe*, free among the dead, put to open ſhame, and the Adverſary, joeund and merry over them. Then is *Gods* time to come-in, and that is His *Promiſe*, and it is comfort enough for the preſent: For after-time reade on, how theſe faithfull ſervants have concluded, That, after the rate of their ſorrows and ſufferings, ſhall their comforts and conſolations be: And by the meaſure of their ſhame and reproach for *Chriſt* here, ſhall their robe of Glory be cut-out hereafter, wherewith they ſhall be veſted in heaven. So they have concluded, and cannot faint in their mindes.

Thirdly, Conſider how long the *Bodies* ſhall lye there; how long ſhall they be ſo diſpitefully uſed? *Three dayes and a halfe.* They are long dayes, as we account length of time, who account GODS Patience a *ſlackneſſe*; But were they three thouſand yeeres, yet that length of time makes no difference in eternity. Their ſoules are ſafe enough; Souls and Bodies ſhall meet againe, The ſpirit of life from GOD *ſhall enter into them*: and then they, that were ſo merry and glad over them, ſhall be ſad enough, *for great feares ſhall fall on them*: And quickly after theſe *turmoiles* they ſhall be for *ever with the Lord*, more glorious then the ſun when he ſhines in his ſtrength; for their bodies were put to open ſhame for Chriſt, and where He *was crucified* (Oh it was a ſweet conſideration) and ſo long, three *whole long Dayes*: now they ſhall have ſuch a length of Glory, that we have not a thought to meaſure it. He that hath obſerved this, hath let it ſinke down into his heart, and he will hold to the *way* and *worke* of The LORD, & his countenance wil be no more *ſad*: He may heare ſad things, and obſerve croſſe *wayes*, and croſſe *wills*; hee may ſmart under the execution of *proud wrath*: But he hath reſolved all into this, *The will of The* LORD *be done*. He is moſt content, That GOD ſhould goe that way, which ſhall make moſt for His *Glory*, Who will make, as we ſhall ſee anon, all croſſe *wayes* and *wills* meet at

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that higheſt point; and in a ſweet harmony, conſent, good agreement, and a full anſwerableneſſe to His moſt *Holy will*. In the mean time he doth, and by the grace of *God*, is reſolved to do his duty, and to hold to the *way*, all the faithfull have gone in before him, maintaining his watch over his enemies, himſelf alſo, and his own wayes, ſo finding abundance of Peace. This followes.

CHAP. VI.

Now Gods Worke goes on, and His Servants do their duty. The Divell rageth and watcheth to doe miſcheife: Therefore the Righteous maintayne their watch *and guard alſo; but ſpecially over themſelves, Conſidering the* manner *of their Adverſaries, and of their* Maſters *comming.*

WAtchfullneſſe over the Enemy, and a mans ſelfe, is the great duty of a Chriſtian, renders him *Bleſſed*, highly honoured of GOD; and *ſecure* againſt his Adverſary;

Firſt, *Bleſſed is he that watcheth*, (*a*) for he will keep his garments, ſo that *the ſhame* of his *nakedneſſe ſhall not appeare*: And The LORD wil honour thoſe Servants, whom He *finds watching*, with the greateſt honour that can be imagined: *He will gird himſelfe, and come forth and ſerve them.*

(*a*) Rev. 16. 14.

(*b*) Rev. 3. 18.

Luke 12. 37.

Secondly, Secure. They who are found watching, are ſecure againſt their Adverſary; he comes like a *roaring* Lion, thinking to doe miſchiefe, (for that is the purpoſe of his heart) but he can doe them no *hurt*, for he finds them waking in their watch-tower.

So we come to the *Duty*; we have ſeen the honour of it, the ſecurity in it: now ſee the *neceſſitie*, to be now, as in all times, the ſervants of The LORD have been, WATCHFULL. They are bold and fearleſſe, becauſe they make their *watch* ſtrong: They maintain a wakefull eye over the Adverſary, to prevent his comming againſt them, To hinder *the work*. What needs that? you will ſay, The *Watchman* of Iſrael keeps His ſervants, *I will watch over them to build and to plant, ſaith the Lord*: And His Angels are a guard about them. True, But all this doth not make them

Nehe. 4. 1.
Jer. 31. 28.

carnally ſecure; but indeed the more watchfull: *Gods* watching over His ſervants, His giving His Angels charge over them, doth not give them licenſe to ſnore in the day time, or to ſleep in their harveſt: No, they are in *Gods* way, and upon *Gods* work, then, as The *Lord Chriſt* ſaid to His Diſciples, * *Sleep on now and take your reſt.* He knew that could not be, No time for ſleeping then: So theſe ſervants of The *Lord* cannot *ſleep* now, now they are in Gods way and work, for they muſt look for all the oppoſition the devill and his Angels can make againſt them, but the fruit of all that old enmity, that is in the Spirit, which rules in and amongſt the children of diſobedience. There is no enemie in all the world, but, if you doe meet him, it will be in GODS *way*, and when you are upon GODS *worke*, Church-work, Temple-work, making up the breaches in Jeruſalems walls: there the Adverſaries are, there, &c. then they will appeare in their likeneſſe, the *Lion*, the *Adder*, and the *Dragon*, *Sanballat* and *Tobiah*, and the *Arabian* (c) too, and *the reſt of your enemies*, there they will meet you upon That WALL, and perhaps be upon you before you are aware. If the Adverſary may have his will, ye ſhall neither *know* nor *ſee*. And behold a ſtrange greeting; you had as good meet with a Beare robbed of her whelps, for you will find that Adverſary, the very ſame he was, very (a) *wroth, taking great indignation againſt the work, and the way*; *perhaps* he will now, as then, mock too, and grin like a dog.

* Mat. 26. 45.

(c) Nehe. 6.1.

Neh. 4 11.

(a) Nehe. 4.1.

So it hath been ever ſince the firſt reſtoring of the Church; When *Moſes* came into Egypt, and made his demands, very peremptory, (for ſuch are the demands of GOD touching His ſervice) he would have all to an hoofe, not leave ſo much as a hoofe in Egypt: Then we reade what followed. How it was after their returne from Babylon, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* have told us. It was ſo in latter times towards the cloſe of the former *Centurie*, and beginning of this, when *Luther* appeared in *Germanie*, ſpoiling the Pope and his *Merchants* of that great gaine and in-come by *Indulgences*, (*It* was an ordinary Merchandize with thoſe cunning Merchants, for amongſt their wares they have the precious *ſoules of men.* (d)

(d) Rev. 18.13.

So I ſay, it was when *Luther* appeared in *Germanie*, that glorious inſtrument, confounding the Pope and his cunning Merchants,

chants, reſcuing the cauſe of *Chriſt*, and advancing His Glory; Then, and not till then, *Germanie* was full of *ſtirs*, a *tumultuous* Nation; Hell ſeemed to be let looſe, and the devils roaring upon him; But then *Luther* was as bold as a Lion, yet as wiſe as a Serpent; He was upon GODS *worke*, and in His *way*, that made him bold and confident; and ſo he would have *Melanchthon* then to be *ſtrong in The Lord*, (his incouragements are notable;) he did live *amongſt Lions*, his *ſoule lay amongſt thoſe that were ſet on fire*, that *kept him waking and watchfull*; but thus he did encourage himſelfe in The LORD, he was in *Gods* way, and upon His work. A marvellous comfort, and which commands an holy ſecurity; his heart might *meditate terrour*, but it commands *watchfulneſſe* too, even to doe as the Builders or Reformers did in ancient dayes, *Make your praier unto God*, and *ſet watch againſt them day and night*, becauſe *of them*: For, as the Adverſaries ſaid then, ſo they ſay now; and therefore what the ſervants did then, ſo they muſt doe now, *Set the people* in their *courſes with their ſwords, their ſpeares, and their bowes, and the builders every one gird his ſword by his ſide*, and ſo build. And though they doe put off their clothes, which the builders then did not, (ſaving *that everie one put them off for waſhing*) yet they muſt keep a ſtrong watch, and their ſword under their pillow. Nehe. 4 8 9.

This is watchfullneſſe, and as needfull now as then (for now the breaches are ſtopping up) *now the* enemy ſaith, *The builders ſhall not* know *neither ſee till we come in the midſt amongſt them and ſlay them.* We are aſſured that all the enemies in the world, are now ſetting themſelves againſt this *way*, and conſulting how they may hinder this *worke*: It is temple-worke, the reſtoring and building Ieruſalems walls. There is need of watchfullneſſe then, mighty cauſe to maintaine a continuall watch over this *Legion* (for he is *many* and full of wrath) as great cauſe to watch as *David* had, when *Saul ſent, and they did watch the houſe to kill him.* (* *title of the 59 Pſal.*)

Read M. *Newcomens* Sermon upon *Neh.* 4.11. wherein, by the good hand of God with him, he hath diſcovered the adverſaries *skirts* upon their face; he hath ſhewn the Nation their nakednеſſe, and the 3. Kingdoms their ſhame; he hath caſt abominable filth upon them, & made them as they are, vile. (*d*) Rev. 18.13.

It is obſervable, That where the ſervants of The *Lord* have their warrant for their greateſt ſecurity, there they may obſerve cauſe enough why they ſhould be exceeding watchfull. *A vineyard of red wine is My Church*, My people, *unto Mee*, moſt pleaſant and moſt Delightfull: *I The* LORD *doe keep it: I will water*

it

ver. 3. *it every moment leſt any hurt it, I will keepe it night and day.* There is ſecurity. Obſerve now what a mighty Adverſary the Church hath (not to ſpeake of the little foxes, and other grievous Beaſts, wherewith *Gods* vine-yard is annoyed) *Leviathan,* ver. 1. the *peircing ſerpent,* even *Leviathan that crooked ſerpent*; The ſpirit meanes, All the divells in hell, and all his ſervants on earth, their force and fraud both: And how prevailing by theſe wayes, This Adverſary is, we may collect by the inſtrument, The LORD brings forth againſt him, *His ſore, and great, and ſtrong ſword*; very comfortable to the Church all this, but it is very ſtirring and commanding to keep their watch ſtrong, their garments *white* and cloſe girt unto them. Bee ſober, bee vigilant, becauſe your adver- 1 Pet. 5. 8. ſary the divell, as a roaring lion, walketh about ſeeking whom he may devoure. The concluſion is, The Righteous muſt be full of eyes; They had need to ſet a Thouſand eyes over this Adverſary rather; that is firſt; And then

Secondly, Ten thouſand eyes over themſelves, even that every man maintaine over himſelfe now, a double watch, conſidering they are the ſouldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, engaged in the warre *with the Lambe,* and going out againſt the *Lambes enemies,* and muſt keep themſelves, according to the charge, *from every wicked* Deut. 23. 9. *thing*: therefore had they need (as the devout Spaniard ſaid) to ſet ten thouſand eyes over themſelves: then againe, conſider, A mans enemies are thoſe of his own houſe; enemies alſo, and thoſe the ſtrongeſt within his own breaſt.

Thirdly, Adde to this; That we know not the *day, nor the houre*; but the comming of the *Lord* will be at midnight, in the midnight of the world, when they ſay *all is peace,* and think they may be ſecure, and ſo fall all aſleep, then He comes as a *thiefe.* Put all this together, and it will command watchfulneſſe; wee ſhall double our watch, we ſhall make it ſtrong, That we may be in a readineſſe, with our *loines girt,* our *armour at hand,* for, as we ſaid, we know not at what time danger and trouble may come. We know not the houre, when the generall Judgement, nor when the particular ſhall be; we *know not the houre*; when we lye downe, we know not how we may be awakened, with what cry, nor what noiſe we may heare at midnight. What lyeth in the wombe of a day, is darkneſſe unto us; and what a night may bring

bring forth, lyeth in the ſame wombe of darkneſſe alſo: Wee cannot ſee into an houre before us. Happy is that man that makes his watch ſtrong, that fortifies himſelfe in The *Lord* his *God*, That keeps himſelf in His feare all the day long, and night alſo; That cloſeth his eyes with GOD, and makes his *Chriſt* the end of his thoughts: ſo ſleeps, as in the lap or arms of The Almighty. This man is prepared, and what ever the cry be, with which he is awakened, he is in a readineſſe, his *loines* girt, his *lampe* burning, and oyle for ſupply. So he goes forth to meet, and if he meet with enemies, nay, with devils, he is in a readineſſe, and as bold as a Lion: But if he goe forth to meet his LORD and CHRIST, O how joyfull is he! Him he ſerved all his life long, with Him his laſt thoughts cloſed, when he fell aſleep: therefore in the morning of his awaking, he is bold, and confident, joyfull and glad; all his dayes he watched for this time, as the Watch-man for the morning.

To draw to a concluſion. Truly this Mother-City, the City of *God*, have done even thus as we heard, and as we all ſhould doe: ſo they wait for GOD, ſo they *love* GOD, ſo they *feare Him*, ſo they *Truſt* in HIM, ſo they *obey*: And, to make clear proof that ſo they do, ſo watchfull they are over the Adverſary, And themſelves. And ſo, they thank their GOD, they have profited very much by all the *hatred*, the *hard words*, & *ungodly deeds* from the adverſary: his violent dealing hath made their *love* the hotter, their *feare* more refined, and fixed, their *confidence* better bottomed, more ſetled upon the rock, their *obedience* more pure, more ſingle, and more hearty, and their *watch* a thouſand times ſtronger, againſt their enemies, and over themſelves. Thus all things tend to the advantage of His people, and work *together* for their good, which muſt be conſidered on, now in the laſt place.

CHAP. VII.

We muſt not judge haſtily of Gods *works, Theſe are wrought in an excellent Method, though they ſeeme confuſed to us, and doe worke* together *for the good of them, that love* God; *whereunto the preſent time gives cleare evidence.*

GReat are the works of The Lord, *Sought out of them that take pleaſure therein*; SOUGHT OUT with diligent inquiry, not with a curious prying into them, much leſſe with an over-haſty cenſuring and judging of them; here we muſt walk ſoftly, taking leaſure.

We muſt not judge of the *acts* of GODS *providence* by pieces, here a part and there a part; as we do not a peice of *Arrace*, not halfe unfolded: ſtay till GOD hath done His *whole worke*, hath accompliſhed it upon *mount Zion*, then unfold the work, and behold a glorious ſymmetry and uniformity *all together* workeing for the good of thoſe, that *love Him*. If we looke upon GODS works apart and alone, here one piece and there another, they will be as unpleaſing to the eye, as are the members of a body divided, and lying apart from the head: They will ſeeme fearfull and terrible, wondrous croſſe to the marke they tend to.

Joſeph muſt be a prime and cheife man in *Egypt*; look you how croſſe all things goe! he is ſold for a ſervant, and it was well he ſcaped ſo; when he had gained no little favour, and became a great maſter, then his feet were put in the ſtocks.

Things went as croſſe with *David* too. How long? To the very day (I reckon within a few houres) he was to be King, that very day the *people ſpoke of ſtoning of him*. 1 Sam. 30. 6.

GODS providence ſeemed as ſtrange, and as croſſe towards *Mordecai*; and as favourable to *Haman*, That Enemy and Adverſary; *Mordecai* muſt ride in ſtate through the city, and *Haman* muſt lead the horſe, and lacquie by; and ſo it was. But before that day came, *Haman* was very confident, That he ſhould ſee *Mordecai* ſet on high upon a gallows, which he had provided for his purpoſe. Truly the admonition is ſeaſonable; *Judge nothing*

thing before the time, but remember theſe are GOD'S workes, and He will work like a GOD, His *providences*, what ever they ſeeme to be now, they wil appeare to be admirable, exceeding glorious; Now here is a piece of providence, and it ſeemes terrible; here is another piece and cauſeth diſtractions; A third piece, and that cauſeth a *ſword*; here is a fourth piece, and Oh how croſſe it is to the high marke it tends to! for there be thoughts of *accommodation*, of compounding the cauſe of Chriſt, and that is a croſſe way indeed: ſo we judge before the time, ſtay a little while and we ſhall ſee all theſe croſſe wayes meet, and kiſſe each other: ſo as we ſhall ſay, in the cloſe of the work, All was carried on in a curious Method; things ſeeme to be carried very confuſedly in our eye, up and downe, and then a croſſe as upon wheeles: But there is a *wheele within the wheeles and* eyes, (providences) round about. If we could ſee we would ſay; All things are carried in an excellent Method. The lines of Gods providence drawn in the circumference of the world, ſeeme no leſſe confuſed then the moaths in the ſun.

Little can we by the beginning of any action, gueſſe at Gods intention in the concluſion.

Ezech. 1.

But we ſhall ſee one day, That not one line could be ſpared; And that all tend Directly to the great *center*, *The Glory of the Workman* and *The reſt of His people*. We think we ſee crookedneſſe, an unevenneſſe in the lines and wayes of Gods Providence; But we are deceived; mans wayes are unequall, Gods wayes are equall: ſtay a little, we ſhall ſay ſo too. I ſaid well, ſtay a while, as thoſe that *live by faith*, and do not *make haſte*, untill GOD hath wrought His whole worke, till we can put *all together*; Then we ſhall diſcerne plainly, That *all together* worked gloriouſly for the promoting the great, ſupreame and ſoveraigne ends, GODS *Glory* and HIS *Churches peace*, in the exalting His people, plucking down and confounding the Adverſary.

Nay GOD hath not wearied out His people, with expectation; Though He hath not yet accompliſhed His *whole worke*, yet He gives His people leave to behold ſome pieces thereof; And ſee how wonderfull and admirable they are, what ſtrange providences, croſſe wayes, as was ſaid, hath he made to meet; contrary natures, and wills have wrought effectually towards the ſetling of Truth and Peace, that theſe might meete in a ſweet agreement. Take a view of it at once, and behold the poyſon of Aſpes,

viperous tongues, embalming; wounds, healing; weakneſſe, ſtrengthening; temptations, fortifying; ſtraits, enlarging; perverſe counſels, enſnaring (the perverſe counſellours:) fears, ſupporting; diſtractions, uniting; troubles, quieting; ſtops & preſſures to beare down the ſpirits of men, heightening the ſame. Thus the LORD hath done in this ſhort time. What then may the people of GOD expect to ſee in after time, when the work is done, and they can put *all together*, who have ſeen ſuch ſtrange providences, and glorious workings thereof already? He that hath wrought ſo gloriouſly, and hath given His people ſuch a diſcerning, will worke much more, and will be admired in the cloſe of His whole work when His people can put all together.

Now we are to conſider with more enlagement what The LORD hath done, making croſſe wayes meete in a good agreement, and croſſe ſpirits to ſtand in a poſture for the ſafeguarding His Kingdome; And what a good GOD do His people ſerve! who would not feare Him? who would not ſerve ſuch a *God*? who would not truſt Him now? Hee makes all work for good; All that we call evil; and to ſenſe it is ſo, is good to them; never any thing in the world fell out to The people of GOD whereof they could not ſay, *this is good now*, for it works thereunto; and which is yet more comfort, they can ſay confidently, *it will be better anon*, within an hower, a minute, a little minute. GODS Hand is with them, and through Him they improove all, good and evill, all is good to them; they find it ſo or they make it ſo: or, rather againſt the nature thereof, it is made ſo to them: things diſagreeing are made to agree very well, and impoſſible things to be poſſible, for ſo we read, if we read the Hiſtory of theſe laſt months. Can a man imagine, (who walkes by ſenſe) but that the noiſe of ſwords, and ſtaves would ſilence the lawes, and daunt the ſpirits of men utterly? yet it was not ſo, This noiſe wakened the lawes, and raiſed the ſpirits the higher: would we not think that the ſword would make diviſions? It was taken up for that end, and ſo it works moſt naturally. But ſo it ſhall not do, It ſhall worke contrary effects: it ſhall cement and ſodder men together: It ſhall make many to be as one man, of one mind in a houſe, and ſo to ſeek the peace of Iſrael.

Yea but the ſword drawes blood, makes havock in the Land, It robbs, and ſpoiles, &c. Very

Very true: but it had made more havock, had it come upon us, and found us ſleeping: then it had cut all our throats. It had raged all the Land over with a rage *reaching unto heaven*, as now in *Ireland*. Bleſſed be *God*, we know our friends now, we ſee our enemies, the Papiſts and Atheiſts all the World over. It is not a Kingdome divided againſt it ſelfe, but one Kingdome divided againſt another: The *Kingdome* of CHRIST againſt the Kingdome of Antichriſt. And this Antichriſtian kingdom will rage as they can, *to their power to ſhed blood*, But The LORD hath them in His chaine, and hath cauſed His people to ſet a *watch* over them: and hath ſent forth His Hoſt againſt them: There is this good in it now, and it is a great good, The enemies of the Church are in part manifeſt now: they ſhall be more manifeſt anon. So are her friends, ſhee knowes now and can reſolve her ſelfe in the queſtion, *Who will riſe up for mee againſt the evill doers?* or who *will ſtand up for me againſt the workers of iniquity*? Pſal. 94. 16. The Church cannot forſake her confidence now in her GOD; He that hath wrought HITHERTO will worke: He that hath diſcovered the Adverſary: He that hath made their madneſſe ſo manifeſt, will goe on to doe yet more: what will He do? The Church can anſwer, That which ſhall be beſt for her ſons and daughters both for the *time*, *manner* and *meanes* of doing it, though all this they leave in their LORDS hand, let Him work as He pleaſeth, if in the dark, and His foot-ſteps are upon the waters, and no print of them, yet, as Maſter *Bradford* ſaid, ſo ſaith the Church, *She will follow her* LORD *in the dark*. Though he ſeeme to goe by compaſſe, by the bow, as we call it, yet Hee goes the ſtraighteſt, and neereſt courſe to His GLORY, carrying all levell thereunto. The Church is marvailoully contented with this, (That all works for her *Lords* Glory) her ſpirit ſhall work after Him, even the ſtrength of her ſpirit, in that way He goes, though clouded and over-ſhadowed with da kneſſe: for ſhe is confident, This very way wherein ſhe ſees not the prints of all his foot-ſteps, (ſhe ſees very much) tends moſt directly to her full comfort here, and her glory hereafter.

The Church hath ſeene ſo much of *God*, ſuch ſweet experiences, ſo many providences, ſo ſtrange, ſo wonderfull, ſuch commings in of *God* unto her, when in her Egypt, in her wilder-

* Pſal. 22. 4. neſſe, that ſhe cannot diſtruſt him now. * *Our fathers truſted in thee:* What follows? Thou *didſt deliver them: They cryed unto thee,* and they *were delivered.* Though we are full of changes, yet *God* is the ſame to His Church for ever: And to diſtruſt now after all this, were a provocation as was theirs (by *unbeliefe*) at *the* SEA, *even at the* RED *Sea.* The Church cannot queſtion *Gods* love to her, nor dare ſhe queſtion His *Power*; Hee is GOD, The *King* of His Church, He reigneth in the midſt of His enemies, and then like Himſelf, moſt gloriouſly. He brought Jer. 24 5. a long Captivity upon His people for THEIR GOOD. He hath ordered our diſtractions ſo, that they have beene for *our good.* How ſo? GOD will have it ſo, and we need not ask a queſtion, when we ſee it to be ſo, diſtractions for GOOD. They have tended to union, and joyning together, the good with the good never faſter, the bad with the bad never cloſer, like the ſcales of the *Leviathan*, they ſtick together that they cannot be ſundred. Croſſe ſpirits, who will be oppoſite, and ſpurne againſt the pricks for *their hurt*, theſe ſhall be ſuffered and countenanced for the *good of His people.* To make them more in *love* with *Truth*, to *contend* for it more earneſtly, in a more orderly and unanimous way, now that they ſee *all the wicked*, all the Malignants of the world are bent and doe contend againſt them: Then we muſt conclude, All tends to advance GODS glory and His peoples good; Their *fears* have wrought for GOOD; it hath made them *wait patiently for God*; it hath made their *love* more perfect, their *feare* more refined, their *dependance* more glorious, their *obedience* more ſincere and hearty, their *watch* ten thouſand times ſtronger againſt their adverſaries, and over themſelves. Bleſſed be GOD who hath done all this, made their *fears* and diſquietings to pull downe and ſpoile their owne ſtrong-holds, *Nature* and *Sin*, and to build up and fortifie their impregnable Forts, *Love* to *God*, *Feare* of *God*, *Confidence* in *God*, *Obedience* unto *God*, and *Watchfulneſſe in all.*

To ſhut up all. The Righteous *wait* patiently for *God*; they *love* Him, they *feare* Him, they ſtay themſelves upon Him, they *obey* from *the heart*, (if their Obedience were not hearty, their Truſt were preſumption) they make their watch ſtrong over themſelves, and againſt their adverſaries: Goe thou thy way

now,

now, thou art in Gods way, and doe likewiſe, and be no longer *ſad:* if thou ſtandeſt alone now, and there be none that will take thee by *the hand*, unleſſe to thruſt thee downe, yet *fear not:* Though an Hoſt encamp about thee, thou art in *Gods* way, and upon His work, fear not: He will hold thee by His hand, He wil be thy *Arm every morning, thy ſalvation alſo in the time of trouble.*

Onely keep to your ſtrong hold, (*i. e.*) hold faſt your confidence. Let *ſinners in Zion* be afraid, fearfulneſſe muſt ſurpriſe the Idolatrous Nation, they have no *God* to look unto, no *chambers* to enter into, while the indignation paſſeth over: They are now like a tottering wall, and a broken fence; they are falling and daſhing to pieces like a potters veſſell. The Lord *ſees their* day *is comming*, for they are very proud, their rage riſeth high, and ſo many ſteps and degrees to their utter ruine, and everlaſting confuſion. As the righteous work out their ſalvation with feare and trembling, ſo doe the wicked work out their deſtruction with joy and gladneſſe over the ruines they have made in the world: you can wait upon *God*, you *love* Him, you *feare* Him, you *truſt* in Him. We have concluded. *Our fathers truſted in Thee: they truſted, and Thou didſt deliver them. They cryed unto Thee and were delivered. For the armes of the wicked ſhall be broken, but The Lord upholdeth the righteous.*

Eſay 26.20.

Pſal.22.4,5.

Pſal.37.17.

FINIS.

24

A FAMOUS VICTORIE OBTAINED

Against the Cavaliers in the County of GLOUCESTER:

BY

Sir WILLIAM WALLER,

ON

Munday last at a town called PADSWORTH; how there was six score of the Cavaliers killed on the place, most of them being Gentlemen of quality, and chief Commanders in the KINGS Army; and one of them is supposed to be a younger Brother to the Duke of LENOX.

WITH

A true Description of the manner of the Fight, and what Forces were on both sides, with many other remarkable Passages concerning the same, which would be too long to mention in the Title.

LONDON, 1642.

*Feb.*25. Printed for *R. Wood.* 1643.

VICTORIE

OBTAINED

Against the Cavaliers in the County

of GLOUCESTER:

BY

SIR WILLIAM WALLER,

ON

Munday last, being the 10. of this instant September.

WITH

A true Description of the manner of

the Fight, and other Passages concerning the Armies,

until the time they came in sight one of the other.

LONDON,

Printed for Humphrey Blunden. 1643.

A TRUE RELATION

of a great overthrow given to the Cavaliers in Glouceſterſhire on Munday laſt by Sir WILLIAM WALLER, at a towne called *Padſworth*, how there were ſix ſcore of the Cavaliers killed on the place, moſt of them being Gentlemen of quality, and chiefe Commanders in the Kings Army.

With a true deſcription of the manner of the fight, and what forces were on both ſides, with many other remarkable Paſſages concerning the ſame.

IT is not unknown to this Kingdome, that it hath pleaſed God in a wonderfull manner to proſper the endeavours of a worthy Member of the Houſe of Commons (and a Commander under his Excellency the Earl of *Eſſex*) Sir *William Waller*, who when Colonell *Goring* had poſſeſt himſelfe of one of the

ſtrongeſt Forts in this Kingdome, the town of *Portſmouth*, with all the Ordnance, Armes and Ammunition therein, the ſaid Sir *William Waller* was the chiefeſt inſtrument under God to regain that Fort, and to force the ſaid Colonell *Goreing* to yeeld up the town for the King and Parliament after he had betrayed the ſame, and had full poſſeſſion thereof, and that without any loſſe on the Parliaments ſide, which towne hath ever ſince been preſerved in peace and quiet, and is well fortified, and in a good poſture of defence for the King and Parliament.

After that it pleaſed God to make the ſaid Sir WILLIAM WALLER the chiefe Agent in taking of Farnham Caſtle, which was alſo poſſeſſed by the Cavaliers, where he took about ſix ſcore of them, and ſent them up to London, and fortified it for the King and Parliament: and in this place ſince I have begun to ſpeak of thoſe great victories which he hath obtained, I ſhould injure his perſon by concealing a great part of his merits, if I ſhould give a period to my diſcourſe before I relate ſomthing of the buſineſſe at Chicheſter in Suſſex, and his late ſucceſſe in the County of Glouceſter: And in the firſt place, becauſe it was formerly acted and firſt mentioned,

mentioned, give me leave to speak a word or two of that great businesse of the taking of Chichester; for when the town was betrayed to the force and violence of the Cavaliers, and by the treachery of the high Sheriffe of that County, they had not onely the strength of the town, both of Armes, Ammunition, and money, but had gotten a strong garrison into the same, and did either turn out of the town all the well-affected persons in the same, or kept them in such awe and subjection, that they durst not stir either on the one side, or other, the said Sir WILLIAM WALLER being imployed by the Parliament upon that designe, with divers other worthy and deserving Gentlemen, and a considerable number of horse and foot after a short time of siege laid against the said towne, he quickly forced his entrance, took many of the Gentlemen and Cavaliers which were in the towne prisoners, and sent them likewise up to LONDON, and thereby setled the peace of that City, which hath continued to this day. But because I have spoken of great

great store of Prisoners which have been taken at two places before mentioned least there should be any misunderstanding in this particular it is not impertinent to my present discourse to let the courteous Reader know that these prisoners are not all still in custody (though some of the chiefe of them are) for presently after they were brought up to *London*, the common souldiers were discharged, neither were they dragged along to *London* through the dirt, coupled together like doggs, as the prisoners which the Cavaliers took at *Cicester* in *Glaucester-shire* were, but they were brought up downe in a faire way without any hurt to the meanest of them, and within a day or two they were released, and money given to every one of them to carry him into his own Countrey, and during the time of their imprisonment they were not denied any thing that was fit and necessary for their present subsistance, every common Trooper that upon any cause hath been committed to custody by the Parliament (though he were of the Kings Army) is allowed five pence *per diem*: it were to be wished that the like care were taken for those that were of the Parliaments side which have been taken prisoners and carryed to *Oxford*, where (as it is very credibly informed, being Captains and other officers) they are allowed but five farthings a day, and a prohibition that no other reliefe should be brought to them, or any friend visit them (which is not practised at *London*) and sometimes they are one day or two without that petty allowance too.

But to returne to my intended purpose, which is to declare

declare to the people (both for the glory of God and the greater honor of this noble gentleman) the good and happie successe of that valiant souldier, and worthy instrument of the common wealth and whole Kingdome, Sir *William Waller*, who hath great experience and knowledge in military affaires, and accompainted with good successe, upon information of the Cavaliers being entred *Glocestershire*, and taking the town of *Cicester*, he was designed to goe with some considerable forces into that County to relieve them against the oppression of that unwelcome Army which was gotten in upon them. And because of the present necessity that County was in and the great expectation they had of his comming thither he hasted that expectation and march that way with a lesse strength then otherwise he would have had with him, for 2. peeces of Ordinance which he should have carryed down into that County as it is informed, and many of the forces which were designed for that service are as yet no further then *Gilford* at *Farnham*, yet it is reported and as a truth that the said Sir *William Waller*, being marched with some small forces into *Glocestershire* to a little town called *Padsworth*, having not one full Regiment, was about Munday last assulted by the Kings forces, there being at least sixteen hundred of them, which being discovered by Sir *William Wallers* scouts, he presently prepared for their coming, and finding himself very much too weake for to encounter with the enemy upon an ordinary manner of fighting, he caused all his men to stand in battalia, and discharge upon the enemy at once, upon the word given,

given, which being done, at the first onset of the enemy there was about 80. of them slayn, which slaughter and suddaine put them in such a fright, that they presently retreated back, and before they could be brought up again Sir *William Wallers* men had charged the second time, and gave them the same entertainment as they had before, killing 40. more of them, and forced them to another retreat, after which they sent for a parley, but the night approaching there could be no more done that day, and in the night the enemy fled to his owne Quarters (as they say neer unto *Glocester*) and it is no doubt but in a short time that County will be settled in peace, notwithstanding the great distractions which are now amongst them by means of the Cavaliers.

It is also informed that most of those forces which at this time came against the said Sir *William*, were gentlemen, and prime Commanders, and that they fled away as aforesaid, leaving their dead Corpes behind them, one whereof is reported to be a younger brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, his second brother the last day being killed at the battell in Keynton field.

FINIS.

An exact description of Prince Ruperts Malignant She-Monkey, a great Delinquent:

Having approved her selfe a better Servant, then his white Dog called BOY.

Laid open in three particulars:

1. *What she is in her owne shape.*
2. *What she doth figuratively signifie.*
3. *Her malignant tricks and qualities.*

Printed for E. Johnson, 1644.

A description of Prince Ruperts *She-Monkey.*

IT is a mad theam to describe Prince Ruperts Monkey, his she-monkey: and when you see her drawn out in lively colours, you will hardly forbeare laughing. Three thing are observable in this monkey;

1. *What she is in her own shape.*
2. *What sex doth figuratively signifie.*
3. *Her malignant tricks and qualities.*

It is thought that she was formerly some proud dame, that pulling up her cloathes, and setting her loking-glasse a good distance from her, would needs view her white belly in that imitating mirrour: Whereupon the gods being angry at her obscene wantonnesse, did convert her into the shape of a lascivious she-monkey. Her riveled face hath some few thin hairs upon it, and if she had but a mustachio under her chin, she would look like an old Bawd, yet her eyes are full of lust, and as red as two rubies, which she rumbly goes about upon every occasion, and thinks her selfe as handsome as the fairest Court Lady, when she was in her greene and yellow goiwn. There was a young fellow, a country-man, that took her for a young Gentlewoman, and sent a letter to her by his father. The Ladies at the Court were that day in all their bravery, because the good newes of Peace began then to be generally reported and believed. They both (after mutuall courtesies one unto another, and wishes the morning might growinto a happy day, but prince Ruperts Monkey, who then kept close unto the chimney-corner, (for the morning was very cold) began to chatter with her teeth her complements amongst them, angry as it seems that she no better was observed. The Ladies began to laugh out right, and speaking fair unto the Monkey, she being re-comforted, began to deale amongst them those accustomed postures which expressed most content. This the old man perceiving, proud of hope that some good fortune might now attend his son, (scraping but two or three foure legges, presented this letter to the monky, which she perceiving, first looked on one side of it, and then upon the other, & taking

some

sains weighs either in the lowermoste leafe of the paper, or in the manner of the infolding of the letter, first looks it into one hand and gazed upon it, and then into another, and according to the naturall expressions of that fleering nature, shee seemed by the noyse she made to be very fondly affected, even much puzzled for present. At length weary of what she found so much to admire and full of mischiefe, as of haughtinesse, she took the letter and tore it all in peices, which the Country man beholding thought within himself, that in derogation of his former letter she had made a Taylers bill of it, and some other matters to that of discharging it: at last when he understood that it was Prince Ruperts Punkey, he went home and told his Host that his Mistres was neither better nor worse, but a malignant Punkey, for I will swear quoth he that I never saw such a strange fashioned creature in mine life, for she hath a kind of Round head as smooth as an apple, and if there be any Round-head this Punkey is one, her eyes is low and brimmed hanging over her little eyes, her nose thats flatt is very short, her cheekes are leane and lanke, and her thin lipps do hardly cover her teeth, the complexion of her whole face is such as neuer I saw, shee is greene as grass, and her eyes about her head are black as sloes, moreover she wears a gown of yellow galloe trimmed about with lace, & a girdle about her middle where she is fastned to the nose of a horse, nay the Prince is full of teares and Jelousies that if he were here he would beate about this same Punkey and like Pyramus rents into apples, but hers under petticoate is unknowne, but certainly if her coates were lifted up she might passe Punkey as they call it. I remember in my youthfull dayes when I danced with the country Lasses on the towne greene, I had the happinesse to view some of their commodities and they were just like Prince Ruperts [illegible] mouth, or as an ancient author saies, like mans [illegible] and to her honesty I believe shee is as much as [illegible] the Divell mind she keepes her taile alwayes [illegible] yee olim (as the wise saies) she tends [illegible] so that I believe shee is a very wicked and [illegible] Punkey, Prince Ruperts Dog who had bewitched the Country mans son to believe that Prince Ruperts Punkey was a little

young Gentlewoman took off his spel again, and opend the eyes of both their understandings, and when he heard the Countryman make this description of his Walters Munkey, he stood by in a corner and laughs as hartily as ever Dog could do; for a Monkey, though in a fine coate, is but a Monkey, and so much concerning what she is in her own shape.

What she doth figuratively signifie.

A Monkey for her petulant and wanton tricks may resemble a wanton creature. I will not say a whore (for that name will make the Devil blush) but a necessary instrument of recreation, unto which pretty peeces of delight it is no doubt but Prince Robert doth stand well affected, and though a souldier, he doth love the soft embraces of a faire lady, since Mars himself did scorne to dally with Venus, Eneas had a Dido, and it is like that Prince Rupert is not onely a souldier but a courtier, it being naturall to the most witty and valiant to love a woman. But let that passe, certaine it is that the Prince doth love this Monkey exceedingly; and the Monkey doth by all her gestures and actions tempt the prince to lasciuious desires, and if a puritan should behold her he would hastily affirme that she were the little whore of Babylon, for indeed she speakes nothing but the language of the beast. When the prince is in sight, she will cast a fleering looke towards him, then throw her little eyes another way, then looke upon the prince again, then wink as if she would tempt him to give her a private meeting. Which are all lascivious tricks, and some time she affords a temptation to the prince by clapping her hand on her buttock and scratching it as if she were troubled with the lustfull itch, whereby perhaps she makes the prince thinke of another buttock, so that lustfull pictures drawn in wanton gestures cannot more strongly move the imagination, than the bawdy Monkey doth by her moping mopping tricks. Some times she will imitate the sitting of women by the fire side on a low stool, with her knees up to her mouth, and her hands stuck about her knees, a pretty wanton posture, and such as may beget a lascivious fancy in the dullest conceite, then she will tumble over her head & let all her coates fall about her eares, so that ye may see all for nothing.

Then

Then again she will look melancolly as if she were a sad window mourning in a black bag for the decease of her husband, though indeed sorrow cannot drawe a teare from her wanking eyes, & then she will appeare like a holy sister, casting her eyes, with a silent gleg upwards, but presently her devotions are ended, if she behold but a red sided Apple, for she loves them better then Religion or libertye of the Subject. Then you shall behold her tumbling on her back with her legs spred wide abroad, and it is thought that some women have learnt their tumbling tricks from Prince Ruperts Donkey, she differs from your feminine good fellowes, and that is, she cannot sing any amorous songs; yet she is take tobacco & breake the pipes, drinke wine and breake the glasses, and roare as well as any singing Syren, and on a pipe, (if she get it in her mouth) she will perfectly expresse the tune of

Men have beene in England
Where I have seene such sport,
The calling of the Parliament
Hath quite put downe the Court.

And she thought that if she were but admitted into a consultacie, she would make all the Roundits dance after her pipe to the tune of *Sweete Sister Ruth come Kisse me now*. Thus this monkey is a kind of movable body that can cringe and complement like a Venetian curtisan, though her face be not so handsome, yet all her gestures and postures are wanton and full of provocation, she being nothing else (as many others are) but a skin full of lust; her eyes are full of lascivious glances, and generally all her actions do administer some temptation or other, so that she cannot chuse but work upon Prince Ruperts affections, and if he be any thing effeminate as it is not to be doubted but he is forward enough in expressions of love as well as valour, for as the Spanish painter wrote in a Church window *Non* with a C. which was an abomination, so her name is an emblesme of wantonesse, she written in that manner being often called a Monkey, which is a kind of prophanation, and thus you see what prince Ruperts Monkey doth nominally and figuratively signifie, she being in all her postures the picture of a loose wanton, who is often figuratively called a Monkey.

Her malignant tricks and qualities.

First she hath never a good condition: for such a whore without bad qualities, and a monkey without mad tricks, and you may hang them both together.

She is most certainly a great malignant, & cares not how the Cause goes forward, so she may sit on her taile and crack nuts.

She is unconstant, and will leap from place to place, as the Brownist doth from point to point in his Sermons, and it may be supposed that she learns her giddy actions from her half-cousins, which are Baboons. Violent she is in all her actions, and would rent the Mitre from the Bishops, and pul the Crown from the sacred brow of Majesty, if she were permitted to come neere them, for she doth love to rend, teare, and demolish all things, as the Brownists doe. Her dyet is *a la mode de France*, that is, after the French fashion, for she loves Rick-shaws, and dainty novelties, and hath a constant appetite to delectable things, as if her mouth were made onely for a Lenton mill to grind figs, almonds, and raisens, and it is doubtfull whether Ladies instructed her, or she taught them to waste time in devouring sugar-plums and sweet-meats, for she will eate more then a paire Mad-maide. And because she is a Cheate Delinquent, and ready to play forewd games there, if she be not prevented, she is subscribed to the nave of a wheele, which the rowts before, as a Prince *Rupert* tumbles about the wheel of Fortune, and spoiles his Fare before him, pillaging and plundering where-soever he comes.

And now we talk of plundering, this Monkey is by nature a notable plunderer, for if she were put into a Study of Clothes in Anthony in Simons one of the shops in *Pauls*-Churchyard, do you think she would meddle any of the Books? No, but in the Study she would rent and teare all the papers and letters that she could find, and all the Books, then she would spill the ink upon the table and pour out all the sand-dust. If Prince *Rupert* should but lee her with an Army of Monkeys, or transport them hither by shipping from beyond sea, it is thought that this Monkey with an Army of Malignant Monkeys would come and

plunder

plunder all the Coffer-mongers houſes in London, and all the Fruiterers ſtalls; and moreover, ſhe and her Forces would plunder all the Ladies cloſets, and make vile worke amongſt their ſweet-meats; but yet ſhe would be more merciful then Prince *Rupert*, for ſhe would take away no gold or ſilver, but nuts, cakes, apples, ginger-bread, and the like, ſhould be all her pillage, which ſhe would ſeize upon. Beſides all theſe tricks, ſhe is a cunning jugler, for ſhe can caſt a miſt before ſoldiers eyes, ſo that when they think they have gotten their pay in their own hands, if they do but open their hands, they ſhall find nothing in them but a ruſty muſket or a pike. Morever, if ſhe ſhould come into a Church, if ſhe did but breathe or blow upon a Service-book, and afterward bid a Browniſt openit, he would ſweare that all the leaves were ful of nothing but Croſſes, Images, Beads, Surplices, Hoods, Copes, and all kind of Popiſh Ceremonies. It is thought that ſhe made the *Adamites* walk naked, ſo that the holy ſiſters thought it a divine innocence to ſhew their Monkeys to their zealous brethren. The Family of love had the ſame zeale to monkifie themſelves, and through the provocation of the ſpirit (which they called holy zeal) they became as luſtfull as monkeys, and none muſt be admitted into their conventicles, but the monkified brethren and ſiſters of the family. Thus P. *Ruperts* Monkey is a kind of old, little, wrinkled, old faced, petulant, wanton, and malignant gentlewoman, the little whore of Babylon in a green coat, that ſomtimes rides upon the beaſt that is Prince *Ruperts* dog, that tempts the Prince by her laſcivious geſtures, to think oftner on a woman then he would do, though I beleeve he dare ſtand for the feminine cauſe, and hath plundered ſome Ladies cabynits as wel as Countrey towns. She is indeed a skin-ful of folly, a malignant ancient gentlewoman, a Cavalier-monkey, a jugler, that hath turned the Univerſity-caps to Court-feathers. It is fit therefore ſhe ſhould be delivered up, and baited to death this Lent, before the well-affected brethren; who without doubt wil grant this to be a conſiderable motion concerning Prince *Ruperts* malignant Monkey:

Prince

Prince Ruperts *Monkey is a toy,*
That doth exceed his dog called Boy,
Which through dog-fond folly,
Both barkes and bites
But this delights,
The Prince when's melancholy.

He puts sweetemeats and sugar plumbs
Into his Monkeys toothlesse gums,
Which open like an oyster,
For he doth esteeme,
A wench I meane,
More then a Nun in a Cloister.

And all his Cavaleeroes bold,
That live at Oxford uncontrould,
When as they are halfe drunkish,
Their heate to quench,
Will have a wench,
That Lusty is and Monkish.

FINIS.

26

AN ORDINANCE OF THE Lords and Commons Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

FOR

The speedy raising and levying of Money for the maintenance of the Army Raised by the PARLIAMENT. And other great Affaires of the Common-wealth,

By a Weekly Assessement upon the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and every County and City of the Kingdome of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

February 22. 1642.

ORdered by the *Lords and Commons*, *That this Ordinance bee forthwith Printed and Published.*

Hen. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Edw. Husbands*, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Middle Temple. 1643.

AN ORDINANCE

of the

Lords and Commons

in

PARLIAMENT

An Ordinance of both Houſes of Parliament for the ſpeedy raiſing and levying of money for the maintenance of the Army raiſed by the Parliament, and other great Affaires of the Common-wealth, by a weekly aſſeſſement upon every County.

THe Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, being fully ſatisfied and reſolved in their conſciences, that they have lawfully taken up Armes, and may and ought to continue the ſame for the neceſſary defence of themſelves and the Parliament from violence and deſtruction, and of this Kingdome from forraign invaſion, and for the bringing of notorious offendors to condigne puniſhment, which are the onely cauſes for which they have raiſed and do continue an Army and Forces, which cannot poſſibly be maintained, nor the Kingdome ſubſiſt without the ſpeedy raiſing of large and conſiderable ſummes of monv proportionable to the great expences, which now this Kingdome is at, for the ſupporting of the ſaid Army, and for the ſaving of the whole Kingdome, our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties from utter ruine and deſtruction; which that it may be done with as much eaſe and indifferency to the good ſubject as the exigent of the times will permit, the ſaid Lords and Commons do Ordaine, And be it Ordained by the ſaid Lords and

Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That for the intents and purposes aforesaid, the severall and weekly sums of mony hereafter in this Ordinance mentioned, shall be charged, rated, taxed and levied upon all and every the severall Counties, Cities, Townes, Liberties, Places, and Persons hereafter mentioned, according to the proportions, rates, and distributions in this present Ordinance expressed, the same to be paid in weekly to the severall Collectors appointed by this Ordinance for the receiving hereof, That is to say, upon the City of London the weekly summe of ten thousand pounds.

The City of Westminster with the liberties thereof, and all the parishes and houses which are now within the weekly Bill of mortality, within the county of Middlesex, and not within the jurisdiction of the Lord Maior, the sums of twelve hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of Middlesex, besides the city of Westminster, with the other places before mentioned, the weekly summe of seven hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of Kent, with the cities there, the weekly summe of one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of Essex the weekly summe of one thousand, one hundred and twenty five pounds.

The county of Surrey, besides the Borough of Southwark, the weekly summe of foure hundred pounds.

The Borough of Southwark, the parishes of Redderith, Newington Butts, and Lambeth, at the summe of three hundred pounds.

The county of Sussex, the weekly summe of six hundred twenty and five pounds.

The county of Hertford, the weekly summe of foure hundred and fifty pounds.

The

The county of Cambridge, the weekly ſumme of three hundred ſeventy five pounds.

The Iſle of Ely, the weekly ſumme of one hundred forty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Suffolke, the weekly ſumme of one thouſand two hundred and fiftie pounds.

The county of Norfolke, with the City of Norwich, the weekly ſumme of one thouſand two hundred and fiftie pounds.

The county of Huntington, the weekly ſumme of two hundred twenty five pounds.

The county of Buckingham, the weekly ſumme of foure hundred twenty five pounds.

The county of Bedford, the weekly ſumme of two hundred and fiftie pounds.

The county of Lincolne, with the city of Lincolne, the weekly ſumme of eight hundred and twelve pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Rutland, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

The county and towne of Nottingham, the weekly ſum of one hundred eighty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Berks, the weekly ſumme of five hundred and fiftie pounds.

The county of Cheſter, the weekly ſumme of one hundred ſeventy five pounds.

The county of the city of Cheſter, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds.

The county of Cornwall, the weekly ſumme of ſix hundred twenty five pounds.

The county of Derby, the weekly ſumme of one hundred ſeventy five pounds.

The county of Devon, the weekly ſumme of one thouſand nine hundred twenty five pounds.

The county of the city of Exon, the weekly ſumme of fiftie pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Dorſet, the weekly ſumme of foure hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The town and county of Poole, the weekly ſumme of five pounds.

The county of Yorke, the weekly ſumme of one thouſand ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of the city of Yorke, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

The towne and county of Kingſtone upon Hull, the weekly ſumme of twenty five pounds.

The county of Gloceſter, the weekly ſumme of ſeven hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of the city of Gloceſter, the weekly ſum of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

Hamſhire, with the city of Wincheſter, Southampton, the Iſle of Wight, the weekly ſumme of ſeven hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of Hereford and city, the weekly ſumme of foure hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The county Pallatine of Lancaſter, the weekly ſumme of five hundred pounds.

The county of Leiceſter, the weekly ſumme of one hundred eighty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Monmouth, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Northampton, the weekely ſumme of foure hundred twenty five pounds.

The county of Oxford, the weekly ſum of ſix hundred and fifty pounds.

The county of Stafford, the weekly ſumme of two hundred and twelve pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of the city of Lichfield, the weekly ſum of five pounds.

The county of Summerſet, the weekly ſumme of one thouſand and fifty pounds.

The city of Briſtoll, the weekly ſumme of fifty five pounds fifteene ſhillings.

The county of Warwicke, the weekly ſumme of five hundred ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

The county and city of Coventry, the weekly ſumme of thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

The county of Worceſter, the weekly ſumme of five hundred and fifty pounds.

The city and county of Worceſter, the weekly ſum of ſixteene pounds thirteene ſhillings.

The county of Wilts, the weekly ſumme of ſeven hundred twenty five pounds.

Cumberland, the weekly ſum of thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

Durham, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

Weſtmerland, the weekly ſumme of twenty ſeven pounds five ſhillings.

Newcaſtle upon Tyne, the weekly ſumme of twenty five pounds.

Northumberland, the weekly ſumme of fifty pounds.

Angleſey, the weekly ſumme of twenty five pounds. *Wales.*

Brecknocke, the weekly ſumme of fifty pounds.

Cardigan, the weekly ſumme of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

Carmarthen, the weekly ſumme of fifty pounds.

Carnarvon,

Carnaryon, the weekly ſumme of thirty five pounds.

Denbigh, the weekly ſumme of twenty five pounds.

Flint ſhire, the weekly ſumme of ſixteen pounds ten ſhillings.

Glamorgan, the weekly ſumme of ſixty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

Merioneth, the weekly ſumme of twelve pounds ten ſhillings.

Mountgomery, the weekly ſum of ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings.

Radnor, the weekly ſumme of thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

Haverford weſt, the weekly ſumme of five pounds.

And be it further Ordained, That as well every perſon of the Eſtate of a Baron or Baroneſſe, and every eſtate above, and all, and every other perſon and perſons borne within this Realme of England, Wales, or other the Kings Dominions, as well Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and every Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Myſtery, Brotherhood, and Cominalty Corporate, or not Corporate, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, within the Realme of England, Wales, or other the Kings Dominions, for the value of every pound which every ſuch perſon, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Myſtery, Brotherhood, and Cominalty Corporate, or not Corporate, hath of his or their owne, or that any other hath to his or their uſe or uſes, as well in Coine, in Plate, ſtocke of Merchandize, any manner of Corne and Graine, Houſeholdſtuffe, & of all other goods moveables, aſwell within this Realme as without, and of all ſuch ſum and ſums of mony as to him or them is, are, or ſhall be owing, whereof he or they truſt in his or their Conſcience, to bee

paid

paid (except and out of the premiſes deducted, ſuch ſums of mony as he or they owe, and in his or their conſcience intend truly to pay, and except alſo the Apparrell of every ſuch Perſons, their Wives and children, belonging to their own Bodies, (ſaving Jewells, Gold, Silver, Stones, Pearl) ſhall pay towards the ſaid Weekly ſum and ſums of money ſo aſſeſſed as aforeſaid; And every Alien and Stranger born out of the Kings obeyſance, aſwell Denizens as others, inhabiting within this Realm: And alſo, every Popiſh Recuſant convict or not convict, ſhall pay towards the ſums aforeſaid, a proportion double to thoſe of the like eſtates being no Aliens or Recuſants. And that every Perſon born within the Kings obeyſance, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, and every Corporation, Fraternity, Guild, Myſterie, Brotherhood, and Commonaltie, Corporate or not Corporate, aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall, for every eſtate that every ſuch Perſon or Perſons, and every Corporation, Fraternity, Guild, Myſterie, Brotherhood, and Comminaltie, Corporate or not Corporate, or any other to his or their uſe in truſt or otherwiſe, hath in Fee-ſimple, Fee-tail, for term of life, term of yeers, by Execution, Wardſhip, or by copy of Court-Roll, of and in any Honors, Caſtles, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Annuities, Offices of Profit, Fees, Corrodies, or other yeer-

ly Profits or Hereditaments, aſwell within Ancient Demeſne, and other places priviledged, as elſwhere, ſhall pay to and towards the ſaid Weekly ſums, his and their proportionable part and proportion of ſuch ſum or ſums of money as are impoſed, charged, and ſet upon each ſeverall County, according as the ſame ſhall be divided, diſtributed, taxed, or ſet upon each ſeverall Town, Hamlet, Pariſh, or place where ſuch perſon or perſons is or ſhall be chargeable by this Ordinance, and the true intent and meaning thereof, Except and alwayes forepriſed, from the charge and Aſſeſſment of the ſums aforeſaid, All Goods, Chattells, and Ornaments belonging to any Churches or Chappels, which have been ordained and uſed in any Churches and Chappels for the ſervice of Almighty God; and except yeerly Wages due to Servants for their yeerly ſervice.

And the ſaid ſeverall ſums ſo charged, ſet upon the ſaid ſeverall Counties, Cities, Towns, Liberties, Places and Perſons aforeſaid, ſhall by Authority of this Ordinance be taxed, ſeſſed, and rated according to this Ordinance, in every Shire, Riding, Lathe, Wapentake, Rupe, City, Borough, Town, and every other place within this Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, before the Twenty ſixth day of *February*, in the yeer of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty two; And the firſt payment of the ſaid Weekly

ly ſums ſo aſſeſſed by this Ordinance ſhall be made at or before the Firſt day of *March*, One thouſand ſix hundred forty two, and the ſaid Weekly payments to continue Weekly for Three Moneths next enſuing from the ſaid Firſt day of *March*, unleſſe the Kings Army ſhall be disbanded in the mean time. And for the better expediting of the ſaid ſervice, be it further Ordained by the ſaid Lords and Commons, That the Perſons hereafter named, ſhall bee Committees for the ſeverall and reſpective Counties and places hereafter mentioned: That is to ſay;

FOr the county of Bedford, Sir *John Burgoyn* Baronet, Sir *Thomas Aſhton* Knight and Baronet, Sir *Roger Burgoyn* Baronet, Sir *Oliver Luke* Knight, Sir *Samuel Luke* Knight, *Thomas Robart*, *Thomas Sadler*, *James Beverley*, *Hampton Monox*, *Edward Osborn*, *Robert Stanton*, *Samuel Brown*, Eſquiers. Bedford.

For the county of Berks, Sir *Francis Pile*, Sir *Francis Knollis* junior, Knights, *Peregrine Hobby*, *Roger Knight*, *Henry Poole*, *Thomas Fettiplace*, Eſquiers. Berks.

For the town of Reading, The Major of Windſor, *Henry Martin*, *Tanfield*, Eſquiers.

For the county of Buck', Sir *Richard Ingolesby* Knight, *Henry Bulſtrode*, *Thomas Tirrell*, *Richard Grenevill*, Eſquiers; Sir *Peter Temple* Baronet, *Anthony Ratcliff*, *Thomas Weſtall*, Eſquiers, Sir *William* Bucking-ham.

Andrews, Sir *Thomas Sanders*, Knights; *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, *John Hampden*, *Arthur Goodwyn*, *Richard Wimwood*, Eſquiers.

Cambridge. For the county of Cambridge, Sir *Dudley North*, Sir *John Cuts*, Sir *Thomas Martin*, Knights; Captain *Symonds*, *Dudley Pope*, Eſquiers; Sir *Miles Sands* Knight, *Francis Ruſſell*, *Oliver Cromwell*, *William Fiſher*, *Thomas Thompſon*, *Thomas Becket*, *Walter Clopton*, *Robert Caſtle*, *Thomas Bendiſh*, *John Welbore*, *Robert Clark*, *Mich: Dalton* junior, *Thomas Parker*, *John Hobard*, *Thomas Caſtle*, *George Clapthorn*, *John Towers* and *Edward Leeds*, Eſquiers; *William Marſh*, *William March*, Eſquiers.

For the town and Univerſity of Cambridge, The Major for the time being, *Talbot Pepys* Recorder, *John Sherwood*, *Samuel Spauleden*, *Thomas French*, *Robert Robſon*.

Cheſter. For the county of Cheſter, Sir *George Booth*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *William Brereton* Baronet, *Thomas Stanley*, *Henry Manwaring*, *Henry Brook*, *John Bradſhaw*, *Robert Duckenfield*, *Henry Vernon*, *John Crew*, *William Marbury*, Eſquiers.

For the city of Cheſter,

Cornwall. For the county of Cornwall, Sir *Richard Carew* Baronet, *Francis Buller*, *Alexander Carew*, *John Treſuſis*, *John Saint Aubin*, *Richard Eriſey*, *John Moyl*, *Francis Godolphin*, *Thomas Thewen*, *Iohn Carter*, *Thomas Arundell*, Eſquiers.

Devon. For the county of Devon, Sir *Peter Prideaux*, Sir

Sir *George Chudleigh*, Sir *John Pool*, Sir *John Northcot*, Baronets; Sir *Edm: Fowell* Knight, Sir *Samuel Roll*, Sir *Shilston Calmady*, Sir *Nic: Martin*, Knights; Sir *Francis Drake* Baronet, *Robert Savery*, *Henry Walrond*, Esquires; *John Davy* Baronet, *Henry Worthy*, *Hugh Fortescue*, *Arthur Upton*, *George Trobridge*, Esquires.

For the city of Exon, *Christopher Clark* Major, *Richard Sanders*, *Tho: Crossing*, *Adam Bennet*, *Walter White*, and *John Hakewill*, Aldermen. *James Gould* Sheriff. Exon city.

For the county of Cumberland, Sir *George Dalston* Knight, *William Lawson*, *William Briscoe*, *Thomas Lamphigh*, *Richard Barwis*, Esquires. Cumberland.

For the county of Derby, Derby.

For the county of Dorset, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *Walter Erle*, Knights; *John Brown*, *John Fitz-james*, *Thomas Tregnell*, *John Bingham*, *John Faunham*, *John Trenchard*, *Dennis Bond*, *Richard Rodriffs*, Esquires. Dorset.

For the town and county of Poole, Poole.

For the county of Durham, *Henry Warmouth*, *George Liliburn*, *Thomas Mitford*, *Robert Hutton*, *Thomas Shadforth*, *Clement Falthrop*, *Richard Lilburn*, *Francis Wren*, *John Blackston*, *Henry Draper*, *John Brokenbury*, Esquires. Durham.

For the County of Essex, Sir *Thomas Barington*, sir *Henry Mildmay* of Wansted, sir *Martin Lumley*, sir Essex.

Richard

Richard Everard, ſir *William Hicks*, ſir *Henry Halcroft*, ſir *William Rowe*, ſir *Thomas Honywood*, ſir *William Martin*, ſir *John Barrington*, ſir *William Maſſam* Knights, *William Maſſam*, *John Wright*, Maſter *Raymond*, *Harbottle Grimſton*, *John Sayer*, *John Burket*, *Anthony Luther*, *Timothy Middleton*, Captain *Thomas*, *Deane Tyndall*, *James Herne*, *William Goldingham*, *John Attwood*, *John Sorrell*, *Richard Harlackenden*.

Colcheſter. For Colcheſter, the Major for the time being, Mr. *Henry Barrington*.

Eaſt riding. For Eaſt-Riding, Sir *John Hotham* Knight and Baronet, ſir *Philip Stapleton*, ſir *William Strickland*, ſir *Thomas* Rymington Knights, *Richard* Rymington, *John Hotham*, *John Anlabey*, *Henry Darley*, *Richard Darley*, *John Allured* Eſquires, ſir *William Strickland* Knight.

North riding. For North-Riding, ſir *William Sheiffeild*, ſir *Hugh Cholmeley*, ſir *Henry Foules*, ſir *Nathaniell Boynton* Knights, *Bryan Stapleton*, *Henry Darley*, *Henry Anderſon*, *John Waſtall*, *Chriſtopher Perchley*, *George Trotter*, *Mathew Smelt*, *John Legard de Malton*, *Francis Laceleſſe*, *Ieoffery Gate*, *John Dent*, *Thomas* Robinſon, *Francis Boynton* Eſquiers.

Weſt riding. For Weſt-riding, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Malleverer*, ſir *William Liſter*, ſir *Edward Rodes*, ſir *William Fairfax*, ſir *Ferd. Cutler*, ſir *John Savill*, ſir *Thomas Fairfax*, ſir *John Rereſbey* knights, *Charls Fairfax*, *Henry Ardington*, Maſter *Weſt*, *John Farrer*, *William White*, *Thomas Malleverer*, *George Harwood*,

Harwood, *John Robinſon*, *Thomas Stockdale*, *Thomas Weſtby*, *John Bright*, *Thomas Boſſevile*, *Godfrey Boſſevile*, Eſquires.

For the City of Yorke, ſir *Thomas Fairfax*, and ſir *Thomas Widrington* Knights, *Thomas Hodgſon*, *James Hutchinſon*, and *John Vaux* Aldermen. York city.

For the County of Gloceſter, ſir *Robert Coke* Knight, *Nathaniel Stephen*, *John George*, *Edward Stephens*, *Iohn Stephens*, *Thomas Pury* Eſquires. Gloceſter.

For the County of the City of Gloceſter.

For the City of Briſtoll, *Richard Allworth* Major, *Joſeph Jackſon*, and *Hugh Browne* Sheriffes, *Richard Hallworthy* Alderman, *Luke Hodges*, and *Henry Gibs*. Briſtoll.

For the County of Southampton, the Town and County of Southampton, and the Iſle of Wight; Sir *Henry Worſley*, ſir *William Lewis* Baronets, Sir *Thomas Jervois*, ſir *William Liſle*, ſir *John Oglander*, Sir *Henry Clerke*, ſir *John Compton*, ſir *Richard Kniſmell* Knights, *Robert Dillington*, *Robert Wallop*, *Richard Whitehead*, *Richard Norton*, *John Doddington*, *Richard Iervois*, *Iohn Liſle*, *Dunch Fuller*, *Iohn Button*, *Edward Hopper*, *Edw: Denny*, *Iohn Bunley*, *Tho: Clerk*, *Iohn Kemp*, *Richard Major*, *Francis Saintbert*, *Nich: Love*, *Iohn Fielder*, *VVilliam VVither*, *Thomas Chandler*, *Iames Tut*, and *Iohn Pittnian*, Eſquires. Hampſhire

For the county of Hertford, *Charls* Lord Viſcount *Cranborn*, *Robert Cicell*, Eſquire; Sir *Iohn Garrat* Baronet, Sir *Thomas Dacres*, Sir *VVilliam Litton*, Sir *Iohn VVhitterounge*, Knights; *Richard* Hertford.

Ien-

Jennyngs, Ralph *Freeman*, *William Lemon*, *William Priſtley*, *Iohn Heydon*, *Alexander Wild*, Richard *Porter*, *Adam Waſhington*, Eſquires. For Saint Albans, The Major for the time being, *Iohn Robtham*, Ralph *Pemberton*, Eſquires.

Hereford. For the county of Hereford, Sir Robert *Harley* Knight of the Bath, *Walter Kirle*, Richard *Hobſon*, *Iohn Brocket*, Maſter *Vaughan*, Eſquires.

For the City of Hereford, Sir Robert *Harley* Knight of the Bath, *Walter Kirle*, Richard *Hobſon*, *Iohn Brocket*, Maſter *Vaughan*, Eſquires.

Huntington. For the county of Huntington, Sir *Thomas Cotton*, Sir *Iohn Hewet*, *Onſlow Winch*, *Terrill Ioſelyne*, *Thomas Templer*, *Iohn Caſtle*, *Oliver Cromwell*, *Abraham Burwell*, *Edward Mountague*, Eſquires.

Kent. For the county of Kent, Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, Sir *Anthony Weldon*, Knights. *Thomas Selliard*, *Iohn Boyes* ſenior, Eſquires. Sir *Iohn Sidley*, Sir *Humphry Tufton*, Knights. *Auguſtine Skinner*, and Richard *Lee*, Eſquieres. Sir *Bazell Dixweli*, Sir *Edward Scot* Knights. Sir *Henry Hayman*, Knight and Baronet. Sir *Henry Vane* Junior. Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *George Sands*, Sir *Iohn Honywood*, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *Mich. Lewſy* Knights. *Thomas Blunt* Eſq;.

For the City of Rocheſter, the Major for the time being, Richard *Lee* Eſquire.

Canterbury. For the City and County of Canterbury, the Major for the time being, Sir *William Man* Knight. Sir *Edward Maſter* Knight. *Thomas Courthope* Eſq;. *Avery Savine* Alderman.

For

For *Kingſton* ſuper *Hull*, Sir *John Hotham*, Knight and Baronet, *John Hotham* Eſquire, *Thomas Raikes* Mayor, *Launcelet Roper*, *John Barnard*, *Joſua Hall*, *Nicholas Denman*, *William Popple*, Gentlemen.

For the County of *Lancaſter*, Sir *Ralph Aſhton*, and Sir *James Stanley*, Baronets, *Ralph Aſhton*, *Richard Shuttleworth*, *Alexander Rigby*, *John Moor*, *John Atherton*, *Richard Holland*, *Edward Butterworth*, *John Bradſhaw*, *Peter Egerton*, *George Dodding*, *Nicholas Cunliff*, and *Thomas Fell*, Eſquiers; *Robert Cunliff*, *Robert Curwen*, and *John Nowell*, Gentlemen. Lancaſter.

For the County of *Leiceſter*, *Henry* Lord *Gray* of *Ruthen*, *Thomas* Lord *Gray*, Sir *Arthur Haſterigg*, Barronet, Sir *Edward* , Sir *Tho. Harcoppe* Knight, *William Hewett*, *John Bembridge*, *Peter Temple*, *George Aſhby*, *William Roberts*, *Richard Bent*, *Arthur Stareley*, *William Dawers*, *John Goodwyn*. Leiceſter.

For the Town of *Leiceſter*, the Mayor for the time being, *William Stanley*, Alderman.

For the County of *Lincoln*, Sir *Edward Aiſcough* Knight, Sir *John Wray*, and Sir *Samuel Ofeild*, Lindſey Knights; *John Wray*, *Willoughby Hickman*, *Edmond Hitchcott*, *Edmond Anderſon*, *Edward Roßiſter*, *Maßingbirgh*, *John Broxholme*, Eſquiers; Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *Hamond Whitchcott*, Sir *John Brownlow*, Sir *Thomas Trollopp*, Knights; *Thomas Grantham*, *Thomas Liſter*, *John Archer*, Eſquiers. Lincoln. parts. Keſtaven parts.

For the City of *Lincoln*, and the Cloſe of *Lincoln*, The Mayor for the time being, *Thomas Grantham*, *John Broxholm*, Eſquiers; *Robert Moorecroft*, *William Watſon*, and *Stephen Dawſon*, Aldermen.

London. For the City of *London*, and all within the Juriſdiction of the Lord Mayor, The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the ſaid City.

Middleſex. For the County of *Middleſex*, Sir *Guilbert Gerard*, Sir *John Franklyn*, Sir *Edward Backham*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, Sir *William Roberts*, Sir *Sprignall* Knights; *Laurence Whittacre*, *Thomas Wilcox*, *John Morris*, *Richard Dunton*, Eſquiers.

Monmouth. For the County of *Monmouth*,

Norfolk. For the County of *Norfolk*, Sir *Tho. Woodhouſe*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Pots*, Sir *John Hubert*, Sir *Miles Hubert*, Sir *Thomas Huggen*, Knights; *John Cooke*, *John Spetiman*, *Philip Beddingfield*, *Samuel Smith*, The Sheriffs of *Norwich*, The Bailiffs of *Yarmouth*, Maſter *Tolt*, and Maſter *Percivall* of *Lyn*, *Thomas Windham*, *Francis Fermy*, *Robert Wood*, *Gregory Gauſell*, *John Houghton*, *Thomas Weld*, *Martin Sedley*, *Thomas Sotherton*, Eſquiers; Sir *Edmund Muntfort*, Knight; *William Heveningham*, *William Cook*, *Robert Rich*, Eſquiers; Sir *Richard Berne*, Sir *Iſaac Aſhley*, Sir *John Palgran*, Knights, and *Brigg Fountain*, Eſquire.

Northampton. For the County of *Northampton*, Sir *Rowland*, Saint *John* Knight of the Bath, Sir *John Norwich*, Knight; Sir *Gilbert Pickering* Baronet, Sir *Richard Samuel* Knight; *John Crue*, *John Barnard*, *Edward Harvey*, *John Sawyer*, *Edward Farmer*, *Iohn Norton*, *Iohn Chappole*, Eſquiers; Sir *Iohn Drayden*, Knight, and *Richard Knightley*, Eſquire.

For the Town of *Northampton*, The Mayor for time being, *Thomas Martin*, and *Iohn Fiſher*, Aldermen.

For

For the Town of *Newcastle*, New-
For the County of *Northumberland*, Sir *John* castle.
Fenwick, Baronet, Sir *John Dallevell*, Knight, *Tho-* Nor-
mas Middleton, *William Shaftoe*, *Michael Meldon*, and thumber-
Henry Ogle, Esquiers. land.

For the Town and County of *Newcastle* upon New-
Tyne, *Henry Warmouth*, *Ralph Gray*, *Henry Lawson*, castle.
John Blackston, Esquiers.

For the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, *John* Barwick.
Sleigh, Mayor, Sir *Robert Jackson*, Knight, *Ralph*
Sawfeild, Esquire.

For the County of *Nottingham*, *Francis Pierpo-*
nt, Esquire, Sir *Francis Thornehagh*, Knight,
Francis Thornehagh, *Joseph Widmerpole*, *Robert Reyns*,
Gilbert Millington, and *Thomas Hutchinson*, Esquiers;
Sir *Francis Molineux*, Knight, *Charles White*, and
Henry Ireton, Esquiers.

For the County of the Town of *Nottingham*,
The Mayor for the time being, *James Chadwick*,
Esquire, *Huntington Plumtrey*, Doctor in Physick,
John James, Alderman, and *John Gregory*, Gentle-
man.

For the County of *Oxon*, Oxon.

For the County of Rutland, Sir *Edward Har-* Rutland.
rington Knight, *Evers Armyn*, *Robert Horsman*, M.
Osborne, *Christopher Browne*, *Robert Horsman* junior,
and *Thomas Wait*, Esquires.

For the County of Suffolk, Sir *Nathaniel Barnar-* Suffolk.
diston Knight, Sir *William Spring* Baronet, Sir *Roger*
North, Sir *Th. Barnardiston* Knights, M. *Hauteningh-*
am, *Nathaniel Bacon* of Fenston, *Michael Bacon*, *Hen-*
ry North, *Robert Brewster*, *Francis Bacon*, *Theophilus*

Vaughan Beckles, *William Cage*, *Edmund Haſty*, *John Gurdon*, *Iohn Baſſe* Eſquires. The Bayliffs of the Town of Ipſwich, the Aldermen of the Town, *Iohn Sicklemer*, *Richard Puplet*, *Iohn Aldus* Eſquires. For S. Edmunds Bury, M. *Samuel Moody*, M. *Tho. Cole*, M. *Chaplin*, the Bayliffs of the Town of Aldborough.

Surrey. For the County of Surrey, for the Weſt Diviſion, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *William Elliot*, Sir *Robert Parkhurſt*, Knights; *Nicholas Stawton*, *Evelyn*, *Henry Weſton*, *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſquires. For the Middle Diviſion, Sir *Ambroſe Browne*, Sir *Anthony Vincent*, Sir *John Dugley*, Sir *Matth. Brand*, Knights; *Francis Drake*, *Thomas Sands*, *George Myn*, *William Muſchamp*, Eſquires. For the Eaſt Diviſion, Sir *John Howland*, Sir *Iohn Evelyn*, Knights; *Iohn Goodwyn*, Eſquire, M. *Vaughan*, and M. *Cornelius Cooke*, Gentlemen.

Suſſex. For the County of Suſſex, Sir *Thomas Pelham*, Baronet, M. *Stapeley*, *Harbert Morley*, *Thomas Whitfield*, *Iohn Baker*, *Herbert Fay*, Eſquires. For the Spring-Gate of the Broyle, *Ralph Cooper*, *Hall Ravenſcroft*, *Edward Apſley*, *Iohn Downes*, *William Carlep*, M. *Oglander*, *George Sympſon*, *Iames Bachelor*.

Somerſet. For the County of Somerſet, Sir *Iohn Horner*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Sir *George Farwell*, Knights; *Chriſtopher Walker*, *William Strode*, *Richard Cole*, *Iohn Harrington*, *Iohn Hippeſley*, *William Long*, *Iohn Preſton*, *Henry Henley*, *Henry Sampford*, *Iohn Pyre*, and *Iames Aſhe*, Eſquires; *Roger Hill*, *George Serle*, and *Iaſper Chaplaine*, Gentlemen; M. *Capell*, M. *Bull*, *Robert Harbin*, *Iohn Hunt*, and *Alexander Popham*, Eſquires.

For

For the County of Salop, Sir *John Corbet*, Knight; *William Peirpoint*, *Richard Mare*, *Thomas Mitton*, *Walter Barker*, *Tho. Nichols*, *Robert Corbet* of Stannerden, *Humphrey Mackworth*, *Andrew Floyde* of Aſton, and *Lancelot Lee*, Eſquires. Salop.

For the City of Litchfield, the Bayliffs of the ſaid City for the time being, the Sheriffs of the ſaid City for the time being, *Rich. Daffgate*, *Richard Baxter*, and *Thomas Barnes*, Gentlemen; *Mich. Neller* Eſquire. Litchfield City.

For the County of Stafford, Sir *Richard Scoffington*, Knight; *Richard Pyott*, *Michael Bedenelph*, *Edward Manwaring*, *Matthew Morton*, *Iohn Birch*, *Philip Rudyard*, *Michael Love*, and *Edward Leigh*, Eſquires; Sir *Walter Wroteſley*, Sir *Edward Littleton*, Baronets. Stafford.

For the County of Warwick, the now Maior of the City of Coventry, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Knight, *Iohn Hales*, *Godfrey Boſwell*, *Iohn Barker*, *William Purefoy*, *Anthony Staughton*, *George Abbot*, *Thomas Boughton*, *William Colemore*, *Thomas Baſnet*, *William Ieſſon*, *Gamaliel Purefrey*, and *Thomas Willoughby*, Eſquires. Warwick.

For the County of Wilts, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *Edward Bainton*, Sir *Nevill Pool*, and Sir *Iohn Evelyn*, Knights; *Edward Bainton*, *Edward Tucker*, *Edward Goddard*, *Alexander Thiſtlethwait* junior, *Edward Poore*, *Thomas Moore*, *Edward Aſhe*, and *Robert Iennour*, Eſquires. Wilts.

For the County of Weſtmerland, Sir *Henry Bellingeham*, Knight and Baronet; *Geo. Gilpin*, *Edward Wilſon*, *Nicho. Fiſher*, *Thomas Sleddall*, *Rowland Dawſon*, and *Allan Bellingeham*, Eſquires; *Roger Bateman*, Weſtmerland.

Richard Branthwaite, Robert *Phillipſon*, and *Gervace Benſon*, Gentlemen.

Worceſter. For the County of Worceſter, Sergeant *Wilde*, *Humphrey Sallway*, *Edw. Dingley*, *Edward Pit*, *Thomas Greves*, *William Ieffryes*, *Ambroſe Elton*, and *Serjeant Creſwell*, Eſquires. For the City of Worceſter, *Henry Foord*, Eſquire, Maior; *Roger Seaburn*, and *Henry Philipps*, Aldermen, *John Rea*, Gentleman.

Which ſaid ſeverall Committees of the ſaid ſeverall and reſpective Counties and Places, or the greateſt part of them, ſhall with all convenient ſpeed after notice of this Ordinance given to them, or any two of them, meet together within the ſeverall Counties and Places reſpectively, where they are Committees, in ſome convenient Place within the ſame Counties or Places, and may there agree to ſever and divide themſelves for the execution of the ſaid Service, unto ſuch Hundreds, Places, and Diviſions within their reſpective Counties and Places, as to them ſhall ſeem meet & expedient; and afterwards the ſaid Committees, or any two of them reſpectively, ſhall direct their Warrants to ſuch number of perſons as they ſhall think fit within their ſeverall and reſpective Diviſions, to appear before them, or any two of them, and upon their appearance, the ſaid reſpective Committees, or any two of them, ſhall nominate and appoint ſuch perſons as they ſhal think fit, within their reſpective Diviſions: which ſaid perſons ſo nominated, or any two of them, ſhall have

have power to aſſeſſe all and every perſon or perſons, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Myſtery, Brotherhood, and Comminalty corporate, or not Corporate chargeable by this Ordinance, according to the weekly rates, and proportions in this Ordinance mentioned.

And the ſaid reſpective Committees, or any two of them, ſhall have full power and authority within their ſeverall and reſpective Limits, and Diviſions, where they ſhall execute this Ordinance, to nominate Collectors for the Money ſo aſſeſſed, and rated, as aforeſaid, according to this Ordinance; which ſaid Collectors ſhall collect the ſaid Moneys ſo aſſeſſed, and pay the ſame to the Treaſurer of the Army raiſed by the Parliament, for the time being at *Guildhall, London*, or at ſuch place or places, and to ſuch perſon or perſons, as the ſaid reſpective Committees, or any two of them ſhall appoint. And if any perſon or perſons, Fraternity, Guild, Corporation, Myſtery, Brother-hood, or Comminaltie corporate, or not corporate chargeable by this Ordinance ſhall refuſe to pay the ſum or ſums upon him or them aſſeſſed by virtue of this Ordinance, or ſhall not pay the ſame upon demand at the place of his abode, or where ſuch aſſeſſement ſhall be made, It ſhall be lawfull to, and for, the reſpective Collectors, or any of them to leavy all and every ſuch ſum or ſums ſo aſſeſſed by way of diſtreſſe, and ſale of the Goods of the perſon or perſons ſo aſſeſſed, where ever the ſame ſhall be found, and to break open any Houſe, Cheſt,

Trunck,

Trunck, Box, or other thing wherein any ſuch Goods are. And if any perſon ſo diſtrained or other ſhall make reſiſtance, it ſhall be lawfull to and for the ſaid reſpective Collectors, or any of them, as they ſhall ſee cauſe to call to their aſſiſtance, any of the Trained-Bands, or Companies of Voluntiers, or other Forces, of, or within the County or Counties, place, or places, where ſuch reſiſtance ſhall be made, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, dwelling in or neer the place; and the ſaid Trained-Bands, Voluntiers or Forces, and the ſeverall Officers, Commanders, and Souldiers of the ſame, or other the perſons ſo to be called, are hereby required to be ayding and aſſiſting to the ſaid reſpective Collectors in the premiſſes as they will anſwer the contrary thereof.

And be it alſo ordained, That every perſon to be rated and taxed as aforeſaid, ſhall be rated and ſet; and the ſumme on him rated and ſet to be leavied in every County, for the eſtate he hath, either in Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, Rents, Annuities, Fees, Offices, Goods, Cattles, or Chattels in that County only; and if he have an eſtate, either in Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Rents, Annuities, Fees, Offices, Goods, or Chattells in ſeverall places in one County, then to be rated in the ſaid ſeverall places in each ſeverall County, according to ſuch his ſaid eſtate in the ſaid ſeverall places, and the ſumme on him ſet to be there leavied accordingly.

And

And be it further ordained, That all Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments of all and every person and persons whatsoever, of what degree or quality soever, or in whose possession soever the same are, shall be rated, charged, and chargeable, for and towards the raising and payment of the said weekely sum or sums of money set and charged by this Ordinance, yet nevertheless with this limitation, and provision, That if the Land be set or let to or neere the yeerely value thereof, in the possession of any Tenant, for life, lives, or yeeres, or at will, such person or persons to whom the rent thereof belongeth, to be solely chargeable therewith; But if the same be let at any easie or small rent or under-value, then the sum taxed to be apportioned betweene the party or parties to whom the rent belongeth; And the Tenant or occupier of the Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, as the Taxers shall thinke meet. And if they or any of them shall doe any injury, the same to be rectified by the said Committees, or any two of them within their severall limits or divisions, according to their discretion: And if any such Tenant or occupier of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, shall or may be charged with any sum of money contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, That it shall and may be lawfull to and for such Tenant or occupier to stop and detaine the same, from and out of his rent due for the same Land; or to take his lawfull remedy against such person or persons to whom the said rent is or shall be due or belonging, who ought by the true meaning of this Act to be charged therewith by Action of debt, wherein no wager of Law, protection, or Essoyne shall be allowed; And in case

that any Lands or Hereditaments in ſeverall Counties, Hundreds, Pariſhes, or places, ſhall be let or ſet for, or charged with one intire rent or rents, the owner of ſuch rent or rents to be charged for ſuch rent or rents in each County, Hundred, Pariſh, or place proportionably and according to the value of the Lands or Hereditaments ſo let in every of the ſaid Counties, Hundreds, Pariſhes, and places, and for all manner of debts whatſoever or ſum or ſums of money due, or owing to any perſon or perſons, by any perſon or perſons within this Realme, and alſo for any debts, goods, or ſums of money remaining or being beyond the Seas out of His Majeſties Dominions due or belonging to any perſon or perſons reſiding within *England* or *Wales*, the perſon or perſons to whom ſuch debts ſhall be due to be charged for the ſame in the place of his reſidence or abode, at the time of the taxation onely.

And be it ordained, that no perſon having two Manſions or places to reſort to, being, or calling himſelfe houſhold-ſervant, or waiting-ſervant, to the Kings Majeſty, or other Lord or Lady, Maſter or Miſtreſſe, be excuſed from the Taxes of the ſaid payments, in any place or places where he may be ſet or taxed, and if any perſon that ought to be ſet and Taxed to the ſaid payment by his crime or craft, or any words or ſayings, or otherwiſe, happen to eſcape from the ſaid payments, to be not ſet and taxed according to the true meaning of this Ordinance, and that proved by preſentment, examination, information, or otherwiſe, before the ſaid Committees, or any two of them, then every ſuch perſon ſhall be charged upon the knowledge and purſe thereof, and at the treble value of ſo much as

he ſhould, might, or ought to have beene ſet or taxed at by vertue of this Ordinance, and the ſame to be leavied, gathered, and paid of his Goods, and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, towards the ſaid payment, in ſuch manner as is herein limited for others which refuſe to pay. And if no diſtreſſe be found of the goods or other things of ſuch perſon or perſons bodies corporate or other chargeable by this Ordinance as ſhall not pay their weekly rates as aforeſaid; then the ſaid Collectors ſhall reſpectively have power to enquire of any ſum or ſums of money due or to be due to the perſons ſo aſſeſſed as aforeſaid from any perſon or perſons for any Rents, Tythes, Goods, or Debts, or other thing or cauſe whaſoever, and to compound for any of the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, due to the perſon ſo aſſeſſed reſpectively as aforeſaid, with any perſon or perſons by whom the ſaid Rents, Tithes, Goods, Debts, or other things due unto the ſaid perſon ſo aſſeſſed reſpectively, as aforeſaid; as alſo to give full diſcharge for the money by them ſo received upon compoſition or otherwiſe, which diſcharge ſhall be good and effectuall to all intents and purpoſes.

And be it further ordained, That if any perſon or perſons ſhall finde him or themſelves agrieved, that he or they is or are over-rated, ſuch perſon or perſons at any time before diſtreſſe taken of his or their Goods may complaine to the reſpective Committees who have executed this Ordinance within the diviſion or limit where any ſuch perſon or perſons overrated ſhall be aſſeſſed, which ſaid reſpective Committees, or any two of them ſhall have power upon examination to relieve ſuch perſon or perſons, as they

ſhall ſee cauſe. And for the better encouragement of the Collectors in this ſaid ſervice, It is ordained, that three pence in the pound ſhall be allowed for every ſum of money which ſhall be collected and paid to the ſaid Treaſurers or Receivers, according to this Ordinance, two pence whereof ſhall be allowed to the Collectors, and the reſidue to ſuch other perſons as ſhall be imployed in the ſaid ſervice according to the diſcretion of the reſpective Committees within their ſeverall diviſions or any two of them.

And to the end that all the moneys aſſeſſed may be duely collected, Be it ordained that the ſeverall and reſpective Aſſeſſors within the Kingdome of England and dominion of Wales ſhall within one weeke next after their reſpective Aſſeſſments made, returne their ſaid ſeverall Aſſeſſments unto the reſpective Committees aforeſaid for the reſpective diviſions or limits where the ſaid Aſſeſſments ſhall be made; who, or any two of them, are hereby reſpectively required within ten daies after the reſpective returnes of ſuch ſeverall Aſſeſſments to deliver a coppie thereof ſubſcribed with their or any two of their hands to the ſeverall Collectors, within their ſaid reſpective diviſion or limits, and alſo within the like ten daies to ſend up another coppie thereof to the ſaid Treaſurer of the Army raiſed by the Parliament for the time being, to the end the ſaid Treaſurer may thereby know what he is to receive of every pariſh or place within this Realme and Wales, and the ſaid ſeverall ſummes ſhall be paid to the ſaid Treaſurer at Guildhall London, who ſhall give an acquittance for the ſame, which acquittance ſhall be brought to *John Trem-*

Trenchard and *William Wheeler* Esquires, members of the House of Commons, who are to enter the same in a Booke to be kept for that purpose, and then the said acquittance shall be a sufficient discharge to the party that payed in the said summe and not otherwise. And if any Assessor or Collector shall refuse the said service or prove negligent or faulty therein, the said Committees for the division or limit where such Assessor or Collector shall so refuse, or be so negligent or faulty, or any two of them shall have power to commit such Assessor or Collector to prison, or to set such fine upon him or them, as they shall thinke fit, not exceeding the sum of twenty pounds upon the Assessor; or the sum of five pounds upon the Collector; the same to be leavied by distresse and sale of such offenders goods to the uses herein mentioned, in such sort as is herein before appointed for such as refuse to pay the rates assessed upon him or them, and shall also certifie the said offence to the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and shall have power to nominate other Assessors or Collectors.

And if any person or persons so assessed and rated as aforesaid shall conceale or convey away his or their goods, so that no distresse can be taken, or that the said sum or sums so assessed upon him cannot be had or leavied by any the waies or meanes in this Ordinance mentioned, then the said Collectors shall respectively certifie the same, in case he be a Peere of the Realme, unto the Lords in Parliament; and if he be under the degree of a Peere, to the Committee of the Commons House in Parliament for Examinations, which said Committee shall hereby have power to

send

ſend for ſuch perſon and perſons as delinquents, and to commit him or them priſoners to ſuch place or places within this Kingdome, and for ſo long time as the Committee for Examinations ſhall thinke fit.

And be it laſtly Ordained that all and every the Aſſeſſors and Collectors aforeſaid, and all that ſhall aſſiſt them in the premiſſes ſhall be protected by both Houſes of Parliament, from all dammage that may come to them or any of them by this ſervice, and ſhall further receive ſuch allowances for their charges and obedience in the execution of this Ordinance, as upon certificate from the ſeveral Committees above named or any two of them ſhall be thought fit by the Committee of the houſe of Commons for examinations.

Provided, That whereas the rates by this Ordinance ſet upon the City of *London*, the City of *Weſtminſter*, and the Suburbs thereof, far exceed the proportion of other Counties, the ſame ſhal not hereafter be drawen into example or conſequence to their prejudice, but ſhall be underſtood as a marke of their bounty and faithfull ſervice to the Commonwealth.

Provided alſo, That where any Citizen or Citizens of *London*, are found to be ſetled in the Country within thirty miles of the ſaid City being men of eſtate and not aſſeſſed in the City, ſuch perſons ſhall be aſſeſſed by ſome Citizens of *London* appointed by the Lord Major, and the ſums ſo aſſeſſed upon him or them, to be leavied upon them and their eſtates, where ever the ſame ſhall be found, according to this Ordinance.

Provided likewiſe, That no Citizen or Citizens remaining Inhabitants within the City of *London* or Suburbs

Suburbs ſhall be aſſeſſed for any Houſes, Lands, or other things in the Countrey; unleſſe the ſame exceed the value of fifty pounds *Per annum*, or that they have not been aſſeſſed in the City.

Laſtly, be it ordained, That where no Committees are named in this Ordinance for any County, City, or place, There ſuch other Committees as ſhall be appointed by both the ſaid Houſes of Parliament, or any two of ſuch Committees ſhall and may put this preſent Ordinance in execution within any ſuch County or place reſpectively, in ſuch manner and forme to all intents and purpoſes as any the Committees named in this Ordinance, may according to the purport and true meaning thereof.

And it is further ordered, that the City of *London* ſhall have allowed unto them the ſum of 3000 l. a moneth during the continuance of this Ordinance, for the diſcharge of their Watches and Souldiers, raiſed by them, and now in their pay, out of the weekely ſum of 10000 l. before mentioned; the ſame 3,000 l. to be paid unto the Committee for the Militia of the City of *London*, who are to be accomptable for the ſame.

Provided alwaies, that no Peere of this Realm ſhall by vertue of this Ordinance be rated or taxed at any ſum or ſums of money whatſoever, for any his manſion houſe or houſes, with the appurtenances in any place whatſoever; but the Aſſeſſors, within whoſe charge ſuch houſe or houſes, with the apurtenances ſhal happen to be, ſhal certifie the ſame into the Houſe of Peeres, to the end that ſuch Peeres may be there rated for the ſame, according to this Ordinance.

FINIS.

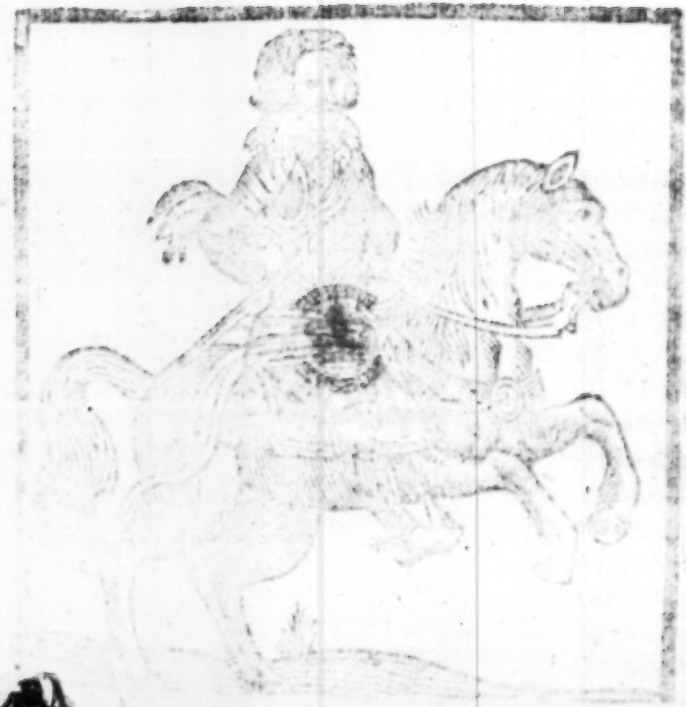
A Worthy

SPEECH

Made by

The Right Honourable the Lord *Brooke*, at the election of his Captaines and Commanders at *Warwick* Castle, as also at the delivery of their last Commissions.

February the 26.
Printed at London for *Iohn Vnderwood*. 1643.



A VVorthy Speech made by the Right Honourable the Lord *Brook*, at the election of his Captaines and Commanders at *Warwick* Castle.

GEntlemen, Country-men, my noble friends and fellow Souldiers, I have a few words to deliver to you which may deserve your attentions; and will I hope meet as good welcome & acceptation from you, as they came from me, with the true zeal to your safeties and the wel-fares of the afflicted Countrey: we behold the flourishing and beauteous face of this Kingdome, over-spread with the leprosie of a Civill War: In which, since we are forced for the safeguard of our lives, the preservation of our liberties, the defence of Gods true Religion (*invaded by the practises of Papists and Malignants*) to become actors: I doubt not but each of you will play your part with that noble resolution and Christian courage as the greatnesse and meritoriousnesse of the work does challenge. No man is born for his own use only, saith that

great Common-wealths-man of the *Romans*, *Cicero*, his friends and Countrey-men claim an ample ſhare in his abilities, as your friends, your Countrey, nay your Religion and God himſelf demands in yours. And ſurely it would be both unnaturall and impious to denie ſuch powerfull ſuitors your aſſiſtance. I need not remonſtrate what it is you are to fight for, the Cauſe is ſo open and obvious to every underſtanding. It is for your wives, your children, and your ſubſtance, your lives and liberties, nay that which is more powerfull to move mens affections, the teſtimony of good conſciences, and what ever can be to humane frailty deare and precious; all theſe, as if they ſought the way to new miſchiefes through the old ones, are pointed at by the Popiſh malignants now in arms againſt us: they have plundered our neighbours, raviſhed their eſtates out of their poſſeſſions, and committed inhumane and unheard of barbarouſneſſe in every place where the tempeſt of their fury has had licence to ſhew it's malice: And can you imagin they would ſtay there, that their inſatiate avarice & thirſt of blood wil be quenched and appeaſed with theſe petty ſpoiles: No Gentlemen, they aim at you, at all our ruines, deſolations, & deaths, are machinated by theſe vipers, who would knaw a paſſage to their ambitions, through the intralls of their mother the Common-wealth; whoſe deſtruction they have purſued as craftily and violently, as is poſſible to be expected from perſons of ſo much acrimony and ſpleen to the Subjects liberties, and averſion of true Religion and all goodneſſe: perſwaſions to valiant men, as I know you to be, are uſeleſſe, and if I thought there were any of you that was not incited more by the juſtice of the quarrell, then my Oratory to fight in this Cauſe, ſurely I ſhould rather wiſh his room then his company; for if the Nobility and bravery of the Cauſe bee not ſufficient to animate cowards, and make

make the meanest spirits couragious. I know not what possible can stir up mortall men to put on undaunted resolutions: Behold your wives with teares in their eyes, and their little infants at their breasts or in their hands, imploring safety and defence from your armes, and should you desert them and expose their innocence to the rapine and fury of the Malignants. I doubt not but they would be ready to meet you as those Roman Matrons of old did their flying persons and husbands, and aske if they thought to creep againe into their mothers wombs and hide themselves. Nay, which should be more prevalent, to excite your courage to fight this good fight for the Lord of hosts; your Religion and freedome of your Consciences, which far transcends your corporeall liberty; invoaks you to stand up it's champions against those Papisticall Malignants; who would strike at God through the very heart of his known truth, so long practised amongst us: And surely nothing can be dearer to any of Conscience, then the security of this his Conscience, and it's unvaluable freedome: you have viewd and heard my good friends and Countrey-men, with what severity and spightfulnesse these adversaries to all truth and humanity, have depopulated the neighbour Townes and Countreyes, leaving them neither money nor victualls, and which is worse, depriving them of all means to supply those necessities, or rectifie those wants, by carrying away their cattell and horses, the instruments of their husbandry and tillage; expect you the same measure, Gentlemen, if you quit not your selves like men: and whereas the going against the King may stagger some resolutions, I shall easily disabuse you from those vaine surmises and incertain imagirations, 'tis for the King wee fight, to keep a Crown for our King, a Kingdom for our Soveraign & his posterity, to maintain his known rights and priviledges

viledges, which are relative with the peoples liberties, from a ſort of deſperate State incendiaries, that in ſeeming to fight for his Majeſty brandiſh open arms againſt his ſacred Crown and Dignity. For if you will but obſerve the men of whom the adverſe army is compounded, you ſhall find them eyther notorious Papiſts or Popiſhly affected perſons, and then be convinced in your own reaſons, if it be poſſible, that thoſe men ſhould take up arms in the Kings defence whom by ſo many divelliſh plots and helliſh ſtratagems, have ſought not onely his precious life, but the lives of his Predeceſſors Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Father of ſacred memory, as that never to be forgotten powder plot ſhall for ever teſtifie to their ſhame & confuſion of face: wherein they would at one blow not only have deſtroyed our pious King that now reignes *(and long may he live and reign over us)* but his Father, brother, and all the royall Progeny with the chiefe of the Nobility of the King dome. And if theſe men be competent perſons to be intruſted with the Kings ſafety, who have ſo apparantly ſought his ruine, let all indifferent men be judg, or that Papiſts and Jeſuited perſons will ever fight to maintaine that Religion which they manifeſtly oppugne in their lives and doctrines, and have both by foraign and domeſtick treacheries ſought to root out from the face of the earth, as by 88. and other of their attempts is manifeſt and perſpicuous, that they ſhould be patriots to keep our lawes and religion from violation or alteration, whoſe Juſtice points them out for diſturbers of the publique Peace, and renders them able to puniſhments in their eſtates and perſons, as notorious and convicted Malefactors; aswell we may believe the light is a friend to darkneſſe, or that the warring Elements ſhould ceaſe their perpetuall difference, as allow that paradox.

But I would not, Countrymen, be too tedious to you. And touching

touching theſe Gentlemen, who being ſtrangers come hither to proffer us their ſervice, and in teſtimoniall of their abilities and that they have been Commanders in the Germane Warre, have here produced their ſeverall Certificates.

I muſt needs thanke the Gentlemen for their kind proffer, and yet deſire licence to be plaine with them, hoping they will not take it as a diſparagement to their vallours, if I tell them we have now too woefull experience in this Kingdom of the German warres; and therefore cannot ſo well approve of the ayde of forraigne and mercinary auxiliaries. In Germany they fought onely for ſpoile, rapine and deſtruction, meerely money it was and hope of gaine that excited the Souldier to that ſervice: It is not here ſo required as the cauſe ſtands with us; Wee muſt rather imploy men who will fight meerely for the Cauſe ſake, and beare their owne charges, than thoſe who expect rewards and ſalaries, for by ſuch meanes we ſhall never have a concluſion of theſe warres, for mercenaries, whoſe end is meerely their pay, whereas their ſubſiſtance rather covet to ſpin out the warres to a prodigious length, as they have done in other Countries, then to ſee them quickly brought to a happy period; wee muſt diſpatch this great work in a ſhort time or be all liable to inevitable ruine. I ſhall therefore freely ſpeake my conſcience, I had rather have a thouſand or two thouſand honeſt Citizens that can onely handle their armes, whoſe hearts goe with their hands, than two thouſand of mercinary Souldiers, that boaſt of their forraigne experience. For ſuch make money meerely the end of their endeavours, without looking into the Juſtice of the Cauſe, when theſe well-affected Citizens being acquainted with the cauſe which is for Almighty God, their Religion, the Lawes of the Land, the Subjects Liberty and ſafety wil now be a means to be incouraged & be animated

ted to goe on courageously in this great work, (knowing that good deeds are rewarded in themselves) if God bee not pleased to give a blessing to the work in hand by a faire and honest Accommodation betweene his Majesty and Parliament to give a cessation to these warres. And yet I heare of many who will neither lend their money nor give their ayde and assistance in this so weighty a matter, (*as I have said before*;) yet looke to bee defended and kept from violence as well as those men which so freely and voluntarily contribute to the great charges, why should such men stand, and onely looking on like ciphers, yet hoping to have share and benefit in the common good; when other men both take the paine, hazard their lives, and spend their estates for them and theirs, what man would not give the twentieth part of his estate to save the other nineteen from being taken from him, nay, and it may bee his life too. And so I shall conclude my Speech, and turne into prayer this my Discourse; That God Almighty will arise and maintaine his own cause, scattering and confounding the devices of his enemies, not suffering the ungodly to prevaile over his poore innocent flocke. Lord, we are but a handfull in consideration of thine and our enemies, therefore O Lord fight thou our battailes, goe out as thou didst in the time of King *David* before the Hosts of thy servants, and strengthen and give us hearts, that we shew our selves men for the defence of thy true Religion, and our owne and the King and Kingdomes safety.

FINIS.

Numb. 6.

CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 20. of *February*, to the 27. of *February*, 1643.

Monday, Feb. 20.

IT is Informed from *Asborne* in the *Peake*, in the County of *Derby*, that Mr. *Henry Hastings*, (who extreamely maligneth the Inhabitants of that County for their good affection to the King and Parliament) sent from *Abby de la Zouch*, about three hundred Horsemen, under the command of Sir *And: Kniveton*, a great Papist, to *Asborn* aforesaid to surprize & plunder it, but Sir *John Gell* the resolute and vigilant Colonell of that shire, to anticipate his designe, had sent thither before Captain *Monday* and another Captain with their Companies to secure and defend their Towne from his mischievous enterprises, so that *Kniveton* comming up with his Troopes to the Towne, and finding greater resistance there then they expected, discharged onely three or foure of their Carbines against the Souldiers at *Randome*, without doing them any hurt, and immediatly departed from thence to *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, hoping to finde better successe there then they had at *Asborne*, but the Inhabitants of that Towne, with the assistance of the adjacent Countrey, rose up against them, and beate them of, and thereupon without effecting any thing to their purposes, they returned againe to their Rendezvous at *Abby*.

As well by Letters, as by the Relations of Ship-masters lately come out of *Holland*; it is informed, that the Queene of *England* was ready to take shipping the last weeke to come to *Newcastle*, and that shee onely staied for two or three great Boyers laden with Ordnance, Gunpowder, Granadoes, and other hostile provisions that lie in the River of *Maase* by the *Brill*, but cannot get out, because the Providence and the Greyhound, two of the Parliaments

aments Pinnaces lie there alſo to take them; the Captaines of theſe Pinnaces being reſolved, that they will ſeize upon them, or die in the enterpriſe, whereof our Vice-Admirall Captaine *Batten* having notice, hath ſent one of his great ſhips thither to aſſiſt them, and to defend them againſt *Van Trumps* the *Dutch* Admirall, who menaceth them ſore, if they will not get out to Sea, and ſuffer the Buyers to paſſe without moleſtation and interruption.

And they alſo relate, that the Provinciall States of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friſland*, have proteſted againſt the States Generall for their complyance with the Queene, and aſſiſting of her with money, Armes, and ammunition, to the prejudice of the Parliament and State of *England*, and that they have alſo Proteſted againſt *Van Trumps* proceedings, and his readineſſe to defend and convoy her over hither: but we may wiſh that theſe Proteſtations had beene ſooner, and to ſuch prevalent purpoſe, as to have hindred the immenſe ſupplies and moneyes and armes, that for theſe many moneths have beene conveyed from thence, to foment theſe bloody warres amongſt us; for thoſe Proteſtations at the inſtant of her departure out of their Dominions, is no inviſible policie, and doth but skinne the wound that is given us, by their former connivence and permiſſion, by which meanes the Papiſts have beene enabled to raiſe and arme conſiderable Armies in the North parts of this Kingdome, whereby they have imbroyled the populous and potent County of *Yorke*, plundred and ſlaine many good people, and ſet up that abominable Idoll of the Popiſh Maſſe even in the Metropolis of it, and impoſed illegall Taxes upon ſuch as will not ſide with them, which is but a forerunner of that the whole Kingdome ſhall hereafter be brought to; all which had not ſo facily hapned there, if the Provinciall States had heretofore inhibited the exportation of Men, Armes, Money, Ordnance and Gunpowder out of their Territories: but now, ſince the Queene by the Jewells of this Kingdome, the ingagements of the Prince of *Orange*, and the aſſiſtance of the Papiſts there, hath procured whatſoever was poſſible to be gotten, and that ſhe can get no more, to proteſt againſt her complaints and ayders, is a device, that any meane capacity may perſpicuouſly ſee into the Center of it.

On Saturday laſt, the Houſe of Commons ſate upon the debate of the Kings Propoſitions, and the late Votes of the Houſe of Peeres, and becauſe it may appeare, how willing they are to give ſatisfaction to the whole Kingdome, of their readyneſſe to yeild to ſuch an Accomodation as may allay the diſtempers and diſtractions thereof, and to extinguiſh theſe preſent unnaturall and inteſtine Warres, they gave their Votes for theſe five particulars, as firſt, that there ſhall be a Ceſſation of Arms for 20. dayes, the Ceſſation

ſation to begin the firſt day of march next. Secondly, that there ſhall be a Treaty betweene the King and Parliament, which Treaty is to begin on the fourth day of march next. Thirdly, that notwithſtanding the Ceſſation and Treaty, there ſhall be no Free trade for the carrying of any armes, ammunition, money or other proviſions to any of the Kings Armies. Fourthly, that the Kings and Parliaments firſt Propoſitions, ſhall be firſt debated in the Treaty and concluded before any other.

Fiftly, that his Excellency the Lord Generall ſhall be ſent to, that his advice may be had concerning the manner of the Ceſſation. Laſtly, that there ſhall be no hoſtile actions, plunderings nor pillagings be done by any of the Armies.

A Committee of the Lords and Commons came on Saturday laſt to the Guildhall in *London*, where a Common Councell of the City was Aſſembled, unto whom they declared the preſent ſtate of the L: Generals Army, which for want of pay would be forced ſodainely to disband, and therefore they deſired them to take ſome ſpeedy courſe for the rayſing of moneys to maintaine them. The Common Councell after ſome conſultation anſwered, that they would doe their uttermoſt endeavours to procure moneys to ſupply them, and for the better encouragement to the City to follow their examples, they preſently ſubcribed the ſum of 6000. li. and have procured other wel-affected Citizens to diſburſe moneys alſo, ſo that the totall will amount to the ſumme of 60000 li. Only ſome few of the Common Councell refuſed to ſubſcribe any thing.

Out of *Devonſhire* they write, that the Lord *Hoptons* forces lie ſcattred about *Plimpton Mary*, *Buckland* and *modbery*, all which are diſtant ſome miles from *Plymouth*, but to begirt it with a neere and ſtraite ſiedge they cannot, the Countrey thereabout being very inconvenient for that purpoſe, and that all the hurt that they have yet done that Towne, is by cutting of a ſmall Rivolet of water (brought thither by Sir *Francis Drake* of famous memory) which keepeth their mills from grinding corne, yet, that they have meale, and other proviſions enough brought them by ſea, which *Hopton* cannot ſtop. And that the Country people are gathered into a body, to the number of 12000. which lie at a place called *Kings bridge* between *Modbery* and *Totnes*, and within five miles of part of the *Corniſh* Army, whither the Lord *Hopton* ſent ſome Troups of horſe to skirmiſh with them, but their purpoſe was vaine, for they were forced to retreat againe with the loſſe of ſome of their companions, their ſtrength being too weake to cope with ſo numerous a body of the Countrey people, that are there gathered together againſt them,

who, before the next post will set upon their malicious *Cornish* neighbours, and, by Gods helpe either cut them of, or force them to retire into their rocky and ragged Country againe.

Tuesday Febr. 21.

From *Manchester* it is informed that three Captaines with their Companies, went from *Blackborne in the* County of *Lancaster*, to a great House called *Houghton* Tower, where some of the Earle of *Darbyes* men had inclosed themselves, and comming up to it, the Captains summoned the defendants to yeild and surrender it, they craved a quarter of an houres respite, which being expired, it was summoned againe, and they desired but another quarter of an houres time to consider, at the end whereof, all the defendants issued out & gave it up to them, whereupon Captain *Starky* and his Company presently entred the House at one doore, and an other Captaine with some of his men entred at another door, and they had no sooner taken the full possession thereof, but they were all blowne up and miserably torne in peeces by a mine and traine of Gunpowder which was laid by those most wicked defendants during their time of respite, so that there was lost Captaine *Starkey* and many of the souldiers, even to the number of about a hundred and twenty, as some letters relate, And it is further informed from thence, that some of the Earle of *Derbyes* forces set upon *Bolton* in that County, and so far prevailed, that they beate the Inhabitants thereof out of their outworkes, and drove them within their chaine, and entred into some of the houses adjoyning, but the *Boltonians* valour drove them from thence, freed the houses, slew many of them, with the losse of about 8. or 10. of their men, and forced the residue with losse and shame to retire to *Wigen* from whence they came.

Out of *Yorkeshire* it is related, that the Earle of *Newcastle* sent about 1000. of his forces out of the City of *Yorke*, to a Towne called new *Malton* foureteene miles distant to the Northeast, for forrage and provisions, where some of the Lord *Fairefaxes* Army was quartered: but Captaine *Hotham* having a continuall vigilant eye upon all the Enemies motions, followed them in the Reare, and inclosed them betweene his Troups and the said Towne, and so valiantly set upon them, that he slew many of them, tooke some, and routed and defeated all the rest of them, that they had much adoe to regaine *Yorke* with the safety of their lives.

Out of *Cheshire* they write, that Sir *William Brereton*, by the ready aide of the Inhabitants of that County, hath brought that whole shire to the devotion and obedience of the Parliament, the City of *Chester* only excepted, which

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is become the more inabled to ſtand out againſt him, partly by a welch Garriſon which the Commiſſioners of Array have got in thither to overaw the well affected Citizens, and partly by the aide of Captaine *Barkley*, who heretofore did good ſervice againſt the Rebells at *Tredah* in *Ireland*, for he hath brought them Ordnance and Gunpowder from thoſe parts, in a Pinnace which he hath long commanded.

Out of *Holland* they write, that the Providence and the Greyhound, two of the Parliaments Pinnaces, lay in the River of maaſe by the Brill, to ſurprize ſome of the Queenes ſhipps with armes and ammunition there, and that they ſhot at them, but *Vanue Trumpe* the Dutch Admirall with foure men of warre came in to their reſcue, and brought them cleare of, wherupon thoſe Pinnaces perceiving that they could not effect their purpoſe, without ſtronger aide from *England*, were faine to leave the deſigne, and are returned into the Downs, to the Vice-admirall Captain *Batten*. And it is further informed from thence, that one of the *Newcaſtle* ſhipe, that went thither to fetch proviſions from the Queene, was fired in the Haven at *Rotterdam*, and burnt downe to the water, through the negligence of the Marriners that were new pitching of her.

The Houſe of Commons, to withdraw all meanes that may foment and cheriſh *Hopton* in his Rebellion and malignity againſt them, hath Voted, that all the Rents and profites of his lands ſhall be ſequeſtred, for the defence of the Parliament and Kingdome, and they have ordayned Maſter *Strode* a member of their Houſe to be the ſequeſtrator of them.

The Parliament hath Voted, that a weekely Taxe of 10000 li. ſhall be levied in the City and Liberties of *London*, for the conſtant maintenance of their Armies, three thouſand whereof the City is to have for the defence therof, and they have alſo impoſed a proportionable Taxe upon the ſuburbs and Counties adjacent for the ſame purpoſe.

This day the King ſent a meſſage to the Parliament to haſten the Treaty, and they ſent ſome members of both their Houſes to his Excellency the Lord Generall, to adviſe with him concerning the manner of the Ceſſation of Armes, acording to their former Votes.

Wedneſday Feb. 22.

The monthly Faſt was celebrated this day, and there preached before the Parliament, at Saint *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter* in the forenoone, Maſter *Bridges* of St. *Dunſtanes* in the Eaſt *London*, one of the Earle of *Mancheſters* Chaplains, and in the afternoon Maſter *Ellis* of *Cambridge*, both which made moſt ſweete and heavenly Sermons. Thus we carefully keepe this day, but the Souldiers and Cavaliers at *Oxford* contemne it, and obſerve it not at all,

as divers have noted that are come from thence, but feast and drinke to the full, yea, the great ones there use Tennis-playing and recreations then, as at any other ordinary times, and they affirme that the King hath not commanded it to be observed, which His Proclamation long since evulged for the strict observation thereof, notoriously testifieth to the contrary.

Thursday Febr. 23.

At the comming forth of the Commissioners out of *Scotland*, the Lord *Lanerick*, brother to the Marquesse *Hamilton*, accompanied them untill they came neere to *Newcastle*, and then departed from them, and went into that towne, from thence he went to *Yorke*, and so through *Newarke* upon *Trent*, to *Northampton*, where he was apprehended and stayed by the Lord *Grey*, upon suppoſall of disaffection to the Parliament, at which the King is so offended, that he refuseth (as it is said) to give audience to the *Scottish* Commissioners, or to accept of their Petition, untill he be released and come to him, at which the Commissioners are much grieved, because thereby their businesse is deferred and protracted, contrary to their expectations.

Out of *France* they write, that the Earle of *Lothians* Ambassage from our King, and the State of *Scotland*, was kindly accepted by the *French* King, and that he presently gave him Audience, where he treated of confirming the Ancient Alliance betweene the Kingdomes of *Scotland* and *France*, and the setling of the *Scottish* Guard about that King, then he acquainted him with the *Scots* intentions to aide the Parliament of *England*, and gave him satisfactory reasons for it, which were not misliked, and that the said Earle is now returning home againe.

A Cavalier comming the last night through the watch at *Newington*, was commanded to stand, but he disobeying passed on, at whom the Sentinell gave fire, but missed him, and so he went on to the Court of Guard at the end of *Southwarke*, where knowing he should be strictly searched, dropped a Letter which hee had about him; and being searched, and examined, and nothing found about him, he was dismissed, this morning his Letter was found, which required his party in *Southwarke* to make all sure there, and to apprehend Master *Whitaker* and other good Ministers in *Southwarke*, and others would apprehend Master *Calamy* and the rest of the Ministers in *London*, and make sure there, and they threatned to do some exorbitant act about the fift of *March* next: this Letter was dated at *Oxford Febr.* the 20. and it was carried this day to the Parliament by Captaine *Hardwicke*.

Friday Febr. 24.

Sir *William Waller* being designed for the defence of *Glousterſhire* and *Wiltshire*, had sent about 200. of his souldiers before to attend his comming

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at *Anhon* in *Hampshire*, upon whom, about two dayes since came 1500. of the Kings forces, whereupon finding themselves over-matched, they cryed Quarter, which the Cavaliers denied them, thereupon they encouraged one another manfully to stand to it, since their lives were so far engaged, that they must die, and so they suffered the Cavaliers to come within the reach of their Drake, which being laden with Musket Bullets, they fired upon them, and therewith, together with their Musket shot, slew about fourscore of them, which made them to retire a little, but they would needs on again, disdaining to be affronted by so few, and then they lost about forty more of their men, and so the night comming fast on, they were forced to retreat, but with an intent to come on againe the next morning, which the souldiers wisely evited, and retyred that night backe to more of their owne Company.

Out of *Germany* it is informed that the *Swedes* have overrunne all *Moravia* and made it Tributary, and that they have plundered a great part of *Austria*, & carry all before them, and that the two *Swedish* Generalls *Torstenson* and *Stolhanse* are now besiedging of a great Towne in *Misnia*, scituate in the upper *Saxony*, called *Friburg*, which if they carry, will be of such ill consequence to the Duke of *Saxony* that the rest of his Dominions will not be long able to hold out against them.

From *Bristoll* they write, that Colonell *Essex* hath seized upon the Castle there, and that the whole City is in great distraction thereupon, which hath made the well-affected people in it to send for Sir *Edward Hungerford* with his 1000. men out of *Wiltshire* to aide them, whereby that County is likely to be over-runne by the Cavaliers, if Sir *William Waller* make not speed to goe thither and secure it against them.

Yesterday in the evening, a Common Councell was Assembled in the *Guildhall* of *London*, where was propounded the great danger that the City is now in, because it lyeth so open and unfortified, that any Enemy may have easie accesse into it, which being by them seriously considered and debated, and to avert all sodaine assaults upon it, they voted and concluded, that Redoubts should be raised round about the Subburbs, from *Westminster* to *Stratford le Bowe*, and every of them to be placed at no further distance, but that they might with ease command each other, & that Fifteenes should be levied throughout the City and Liberties therof to defray the charge of the Work.

Sir *Henry Garraway*, one of the Aldermen of *London*, upon his refusall of contributing monyes for the defence of the Kingdome, was lately apprehended and carried to *Rochester* in *Kent*, to be kept there in durance, untill hee comply and submit to the Ordinance of Parliament.

Saturday

Saturday, Feb. 25.

Out of the Weſt Countrey came Newes, that the L. *Hopton* had raiſed his Siege from *Plymouth*, and had gotten all his forces into a body at *Modbury*, about ten miles Eaſtward from thence, and that he expected to be ſet upon by the 12000. *Devonſhire men* that lay at *Kings Bridge* ſome five miles from him, who have reſolved to die every man of them but they will drive him out of their County.

The Parliament hath Voted, that the Committee for the ſafety of the Kingdome ſhall be diſſolved, and they have ſubſcribed foure members of the Houſe of Peeres, and eight Members of the Houſe of Commons in their places, and thereby limited them to a certaine number, whereas before it was lawfull for any of the Members of either Houſe, to be aſſiſtant there at their pleaſure.

The Committee of Lords and Commons, that went on Tueſday laſt, to His Exceſſency, the Lord Generall, to have his conſent and advice about the manner of Ceſſation, are returned yeſterday, and relate that he hath approved of whatſoever the Parliament hath done in that behalfe. And it is alſo informed, that he intendeth to Muſter and purge his Army of offenſive Commanders, and to reduce each of his Regiments of foote to 1200. and each of his Troopes of Horſe to foureſcore.

Prince *Rupert* lately ſummoned all his men to appeare at *Abbington* in *Berkeſhire*, where he muſtered them, but to what part his deſigne is, the Letter mentioneth not, onely ſuppoſeth that it was Weſtwards; and by another Letter it is informed, that he hath totally drawne all his Horſe out of *Oxfordſhire*, inſomuch that the Inhabitants of that County are not peſtered with the billeting of any of them at this preſent.

The Earle of *Newcaſtle* wrote a letter to the King, which was Intercepted, wherin he intreateth him to haſten the Ceſſation of Armes and the Treaty with all poſſible ſpeed, becauſe he aſſerteth that he can ſtay no longer in *Yorke* for want of Proviſions, but it is ſaid ſince that he is gone from thence to the Queene, who, as it is reported, is landed at *Ravenſworth* in *Sunderland*, which lieth ten miles on this ſide *Newcaſtle*: but one of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* chiefe wants is ſaid to be men, for as it is credibly reported, the moſt of the Proteſtants, both in his own, and alſo Generall *Kings* Army, have deſerted him, and that both their Armies at this preſent can make but 7000. men, which are all Papiſts.

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A TRVE COPIE OF A LETTER

Found in the KINGS ARMY.

K. Charles I app

AND

Delivered to the Houſe by a very welwiller to that great and Honourable Councell concerning matters of moment.

Feb: 27 LONDON, Printed 1642

A TRUE

COPIE

OF A

LETTER

Sent into

KING'S ARMY,

AND

Delivered to the People by a very well-willer

to that great and Re-nowned Council con-

vening the Commons.

LONDON, Printed.

A true copie of a Letter found in the Kings Army, and delivered to the Houſe by a welwiller to that Honourable Aſſembly concerning matters of moment

THat it is fit for the King to do ſomething extraordinarie at this preſent is not onely the opinion of the wiſeſt, but their expectation: alſo men obſerve him more now then at other times, for Majeſty in an eclipſe drawes eyes that would not ſo much as have looked towards it if it had ſhined out and appeared in it ſelf. To ly ſtill now ſhews but a calmneſſe of mind, not a magnanimity, ſince in matters of government to think well at any time, much more in a very Active is very little but to dreame well: nor muſt hee ſtay to act till his people deſire, becauſe it is thought nothing reliſhes with them leſſe, for therefore hath nothing reliſhed with them: becauſe the King for the moſt part hath ſtayed till they deſired, and done nothing but what either they have or were petitioning for. But that the King ſhould doe, will not be ſo much the queſtion, as what he ſhould do, and ſurely for the King to have right counſell given him at all times is ſtrange, and at this time almoſt impoſſible. I would it were modeſtly ſpoken: and it were not, all of them have ſo much to doe for their own preſervation, that they cannot without breaking a law in nature intend anothers. Thoſe that have courage, perchance innocency, and ſo dare not ſhew themſelves in the Kings buſineſſe, and if they have innocency they want parts to make themſelves conſiderable, & ſo conſequently the things they undertake: then in the Court they

give ſuch counſell as they believe the King is inclined to, and determine of his good by his deſire, which is a kind of ſetting the ſunne by the diall. Intereſt which cannot erre by paſſion which may in going about to ſhew the King a cure: but a man ſhould firſt ſhew him the diſeaſe: but to Kings as to ſome kind of Patients, it not alwayes proper to ſhew them how ill they fare, & i stoomuch like a country clown not to ſhew the way unleſſe he know of you firſt from whence you come, and diſcourſe of things.

Kings may be miſtaken, and councellerls corrupted, but true intereſt alone, ſaid the Duke of *Roban* cannot erre: it were not amiſſe therefore to find out this intereſt; for ſetting down right principles before concluſions, it is weighing the ſcales before we deal for the commodities.

Certainly the intereſt of the King is the union of the people, and whoſoever hath found him otherwiſe (as the Scripture ſaith of the Devill) was a ſeducer from the firſt, if there had been one Prince in the world that made felicity in this life, and left a fair fame after death, without the love of his ſubjects there were ſome colour to deſpiſe it.

There was not among all our Princes a greater Courtier of the people then *Richard* the third, not ſo much out of feare as out of wiſedome. And ſhall the worſt of Kings have ſtriven for that, and ſhall not the beſt? it being an Angelicall ingtgs to gaine love.

There be two things in which the people expect to be ſatisfied, Religion, and Juſtice: nor can it be done by any little Acts, but by real and Kingly reſolutions If any think that by dividing the factious (a good rule at other times) he ſhall maſter the reſt, he will be ſtrangely deceived, for in beginning of things it would doe much, but when whole Kingdomes are reſolved of thoſe now that lead thoſe parties, if you would take off the major number the leſſer would govern

vem, and doe the ſame things ſtill, for as *Cato* ſaid of the *Romanes*, they were like ſheep, and that the way to drive them was in a flocke, for if one would be extravagant, all the reſt would follow; ſo it will be here, it will dearly appeare that neither the perſon of the Scottiſh or Engliſh Actours upon the ſtage are conſiderable to the great body of *England*, but the things they undertake: which done by another hand, and ſo done that there remaines no *je*alouſie, and leaves them where they were, & not much riſen in value, and of how great a conſequence it is for the King to reſume the right and be author himſelf let any body *judge*, ſince (as *Cominus* ſaith) thoſe that have the Art to pleaſe the people have power to raiſe them.

To do things ſo that there can remaine no *je*alouſie is very neceſſary, and is no more really reforming that is pleaſing them, for to doe things that ſhall grieve hereafter, and yet pretend love amongſt lovers themſelves, whether there is the eaſieſt faith will not be accepted, It will not be enough for the King to doe what they deſire, but he muh do ſomething more, for that will ſhew the heartineſſe, I mean by doing more, doing ſomething of his own, as throwing away things they call not for, or giving that they expected not, and when they ſee the King doing the ſame things with them, that will take away all thought or apprehenſion that he thinks the things they have done already ill.

Now if the King ends the difference, and takes away the difference, & takes away the ſuſpect for the future, the cauſe will fall out to be no worſe th̄ when two duallists enter the fields, the worſted partie, the other having no ill opinion of him, hath his ſword given him again without any further hurt after he hath been in the others power, but otherwiſe it is not ſafe to imagine what will follow, for the people are naturally not valiāt nor not much Cavaliers, now it is the natur

of cowards, to hurt when they receive none; and wound even the dead: they will not be content while they seeme to have the upper hand to fetter onely Royalty, but perchance as timorous spirits use, will not thinke themselves safe while it is at all, and possibly this is now the state of things.

In the great worke at least to make it appeare perfect and lasting to the Kiugdome, it is necessary that the Queen really joyne: for if she stand aloofe there will be still suspition, it being a receved opinion in the world, that she hath a great interest in the Kings favour and power: And on invite her, she is to consider with her selfe whether such great vertues and eminent excellences, though she be highly admired and valued by those that know her &are about her, not more proper for a Queen so great to aime at universal honour and love, then private esteeme and value: besides, how becomming a worke of the sweetnesse and softnes of her love, is compounding of differences and uniting hearts; and how proper for a Queene reconciling King and people. There is but one more remaines, which whispered abroad busieth the Kings mind, if not disturbes it, in the midst of those great resolutions, and that is the preservation of some servants which he thinks somewhat hardly torne from him of late, which is a thing of so tender a nature, shall rather propound something about it then resolve it.

The first *quære* will be (as things now stand) Kingdomes in the ballance, the King is not to follow nature where the conservation of the generall weale commands and governs the lesse: As Iron in particular simpathy sticks to the loadstone, but if it be joyned with a greater body of Iron it quits those particular affections to the loadstone, and moves with the other the greater body the common Country.

The second will be, whether if he could preserve these ministers, they can bee of any use to him hereafter, since no

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man is ſerved with a greater prejudice then he that imployes ſuſpected miniſters, or not beloved, though able and deſerving in themſelves.

The third is, whether to preſerve them there be any other way then for the King firſt to be right with his people, ſince the rule of Philoſophy muſt ever hold good, *nemo dat quod non habet*, before the King have power to preſerve hee muſt have power.

And laſtly, whether the way to preſerve this power, be not to give it away; for the people of England have ever bin like wantons which pull & tug as long as the Prince hath pulled with them, as you may ſee in K. *Henry* the third, K. *Iohn*, and K. *Edward* the ſecond, and indeed all their troubleſome and unfortunate reignes, but when the Princes have let it goe, the people come and put in their hands againe, that they play as in Queen *Elizabeth*.

I will conclude all with a praier, not that I thinke it needs for the preſent, prayers are to keepe us from what may be, aſwell as preſerve us from what is, that the King may not bee too unſenſible of what is without him, nor to reſolve of what is within him, to bee ſick of a dangerous diſeaſe, and feele no paine, cannot be but with loſſe of underſtanding; tis an Aphoriſme of *Hipocrates*, and on the other ſide *Opinioniſt* is a ſullen Porter, and as is witneſſed of *Conſtans*, ſhuts out oftentimes better things then it lets in.